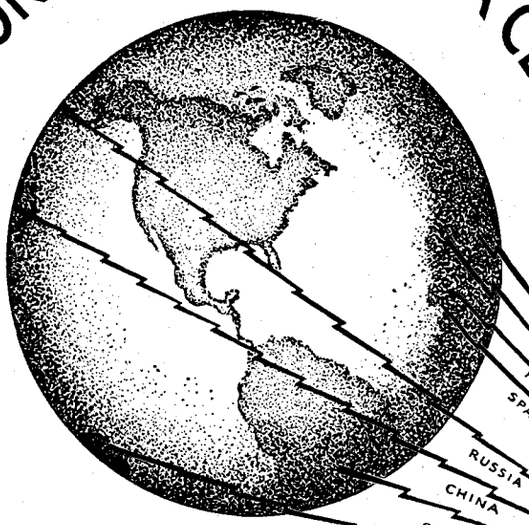
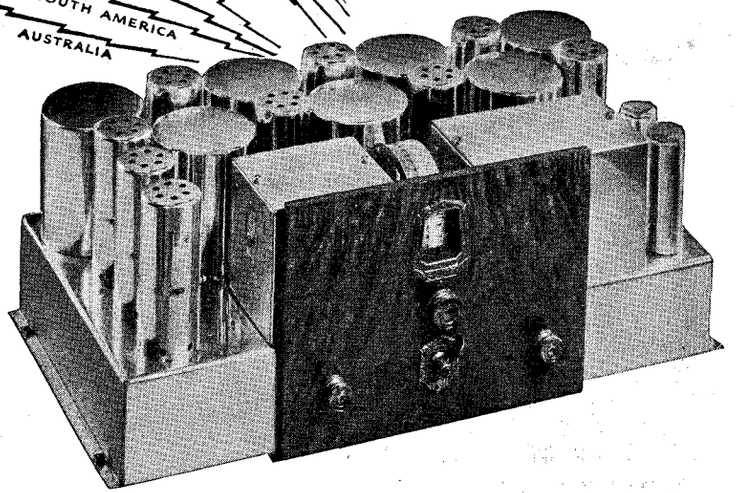
AROUND THE WORLD RECEPTION A CERTAINTY



Every Day in the Year

with the New
15-550 METER
SCOTT ALL-WAVE Deluxe



SCOTT-TRAVEL to the ends of the earth! Spin the whole globe's wealth of entertainment into your own home with the twirl of a dial. True single dial control does it — no trimmers or auxiliary dials, no fussing with plug-in or tapped coils. Here is performance so perfected that this receiver is GUARANTEED to bring in foreign stations, 10,000 miles or more away, with full loud speaker volume in all seasons, every week throughout the year.

Guarantee Based on History's Most Impressive Radio Performance Record

Verified Chicago reception, by a SCOTT ALL-WAVE operating under ordinary home conditions, of every scheduled program broadcast over a whole year's time from VK2ME, Sydney, Australia—more than 9,500 miles away . . . more than 19,000 logs of foreign stations submitted by SCOTT ALL-WAVE owners this year . . . are but two of many accomplishments.

It takes advanced, precision engineering—laboratory technique in custom construction—a background of nearly a decade of experience in building superfine receivers — to make such records possible, and to permit such a guarantee.

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Such performance results from micrometer-measured accuracy in custom building. It testifies to the incorporation of every worthwhile development in radio, plus many exclusive innovations made by Scott engineers. These betterments include full automatic volume control; visual tuning; the ultimate in selectivity; highest degree of sensitivity ever developed in a radio receiver; lowest known noise level of reception; new Class "A" linear amplification giving tremendous volume without distortion; new-type tubes; many other absorbingly interesting technical achievements.

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Send me complete information about the New Scott All-Wave Deluxe Receiver, including technical details, performance proofs, prices, etc. This request is not to obligate me in any way.

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E. H. SCOTT RADIO LABORATORIES, INC.
4450 Ravenswood Avenue Dept. No. 112 CHICAGO, ILL.

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A man on this bracket fifty stories up is safer than a carpenter or mason on a staging 15 feet above the ground.

We have been in the glass business more than forty years and have glazed all sorts of buildings erected in this part of the country.

Three years ago we made the first steel bracket and have since made many changes and improvements till we have brought it to a form that is satisfactory to us and will, we think, be approved by critical mechanical men.

The last change was from a high grade of steel of the ordinary type to stainless steel. This is much stronger and harder to work, requiring speed saws, speed drills and speed files.

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Our patent claims are for the benefit of the users as well as for ourselves. If left open to competition some might make them of water or gas pipe and otherwise cheapen it to the point of danger.

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The primary purpose here is to save life, but it saves money also—so those say who use it. For it takes less than a minute to put it out and about the same to take it in. This loss of time is soon recovered by the acceleration of the work.

The men who do this work are usually poor and are obliged to assume their own risk in order to get the job.

The men who stand on the sill and work with one hand are not and cannot get insured for the rates are prohibitive. If they take the job it must be at their own risk.

The law does not protect them, so it is said and the employer does not and so they have none at all. Is not this the forgotten man?

The men who do this work cannot furnish their own bracket for there is a great variety of windows that the bracket must be made to fit the windows where it is used.

They cannot be sold through any supply house, but must be made to suit every individual case like a set of false teeth.

But the changes here are simple and do not add to the cost, if we have the few simple measurements required.

●

If interested, address, C. H. Farley & Co., 13-23 Milk St., Portland, Maine, and we will give you more particulars and a few questions to be answered.

Checklist of New Ideas

ON G. B. S.

Bernard Shaw, a real Socialist? Ha, ha!—*Lady Astor.*

ON CHAUCER UNDEFILED

When she opened that little rosebud mouth, well, she spoke pure spearmint.—*George S. Kaufman, Edna Ferber in "Dinner at Eight."*

ON UNEMPLOYMENT

If you newspaper men would state each time that my name is proposed for some position that there is no foundation for the report you would always be right, and it would save me no end of trouble and correspondence.

With kindest regards, I am
Very truly yours,
Calvin Coolidge.

ON FASCISM

This is only the first decade of Fascism. There will be at least nine others.—*Benito Mussolini.*

ON LEADERSHIP

I wonder if there is any one in the world who can really direct the affairs of the world, or of his country, with any assurance of the result his action will have?—*Montagu C. Norman, Gov. Bank of England.*

ON MARKETS

Markets as well as mobs respond to human emotions.—*Owen D. Young.*

ON AN OPTICAL ILLUSION

Present day high heels cause the shins of many young women to turn outward, rotating the knees. This gives the impression that they have bow legs.—*Dr. Emanuel Demeur, Illinois Assn. of Chiropodists.*

ON THE IDENTITY OF OUR THINKERS

It may take generations to persuade the mass of Americans to think. Today there is a small nucleus able to think—say about 200,000 adults out of our 120,000,000. We may be able to swell that in the next generation.—*Dr. Harold O. Rugg, Columbia University.*

ON WHAT IT TAKES

I don't care what they call it, I'm for more money. They can call it inflation; I call it common sense.—*William E. Borah.*

Did You Buy at these Prices?

McNeel clients, after having been advised last Spring to defer buying until there were signs that liquidation was over, were advised in June and July to buy these stocks at these prices, all close to the bear market lows:

Adams Express, 2	Elec. Bond & Share, 5
Anaconda, 4	Gillette, 11
Atlantic Refining, 11	Monsanto Chem., 15
Atchison, 20	Mont. Ward, 5
Brooklyn-Manhattan, 15	New Haven, 6
A. M. Byers, 9	Parker Rustproof, 18
Chrysler, 6	Radio Pfd B, 6
Consolidated Gas, 33	Safeway Stores, 35

Our recent analyses have revealed other opportunities that are still very attractive, and we have prepared Special Bulletin No. 48, describing them. The stocks and bonds analyzed in this Special Bulletin have lagged behind the market, and appear due for a substantial advance. We constantly analyze such securities for our clients, uncovering those that should yield gratifying profits, and warning against dangerous situations. Don't imagine that you can safely buy or sell blindly in the fluctuations of the present market or any other. You need experienced counsel if you would duplicate the successes of our clients who make fortunes in the bull market of 1921-1929, and who have profited even during 1932.

Our Special Bulletin No. 48 may help you to gain worthwhile profits, by pointing out exceptional opportunities for investment or trading. Send one dollar for complete set of Current Bulletins, and mention No. 48 to be sure of receiving it.

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Cash or Sympathy
in the event of
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Newark, N. J.—A new type of limited protection covering both Sickness and Accidents at a cost of less than 3 cents a day has been announced by the North American Accident Insurance Company with offices at 391 Wallach Building, Newark, New Jersey.

Men and women between the ages of 16 and 70 are eligible. No medical examination is required. The sum of $10,000 is paid for stated accidental death, $10,000 for loss of hands, feet or eyesight and $25.00 weekly benefit for stated accidents or sickness. Doctor's Bills, Hospital Benefit, Emergency Benefit, and other liberal features to help in time of need—all clearly shown in policy.

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For less than 3c a day you can protect those near and dear to you!

SUPPOSE you meet with an accident or sickness ***tonight***—will your income continue?

Remember few escape without accident—and none of us can tell what tomorrow holds for us. While you are reading this warning, somewhere some ghastly tragedy, flood or fire, some automobile or train disaster is taking its toll of human life or limb.

Now Is the Time to Protect Yourself!

If you suddenly became ill—would your income stop? What if you suffered from lobar pneumonia, an appendicitis operation, or any of the many common ills which are covered in this unusual policy; wouldn't you rest easier and convalesce more quickly if you knew that our company stood ready to help lift from our shoulders the distressing financial burdens in case of a personal tragedy? ***Protect yourself Now!***

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RECENT tests indicate that the ability to learn increases generally with age—rapidly to 20 and then with a fairly steady rise to the age of 60 to 64. The old idea that after 25 or 30 one learned far less readily has been proved wrong.

The progress of thousands of adult men and women has been tested carefully with that of younger students. There is no longer any doubt that the fruits of education are within the reach of millions who should continue study throughout their lives.

Over 1½ million adults are now broadening their training during their leisure. And the adult educational movement is still in its infancy. Men and women—old and young—realize more and more that continued study brings great rewards. Economic advancement is no doubt the usual objective of home study students, but thousands of adults are attaining the advantages and satisfaction of a broader cultural background.

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NEW
OUTLOOK

ALFRED E. SMITH
Editor-in-Chief

FRANCIS WALTON
Managing Editor

CONTENTS

The New Outlook	Alfred E. Smith	9
Technocracy's Question	Wayne W. Parrish	13
The Green Baize Epoch	Anne O'Hare McCormick	18
The End of an Era	Forrest Davis	22
Chief Woman-Elect	Ernestine Evans	26
Let's Act Our Age	Edward Angly	28
People Without Money	Joanna C. Colcord	31
The Irish Land Annuities	Sean T. O'Kelly	36
College Youth Discusses Itself	Warren E. Thompson	41
Economic War Reports	E. H. Collins	44
To See or Not to See	Cy Caldwell	46
Letter on a Political Blizzard	H. I. Phillips	48
War Debts, Ltd.	Henry Carter	49
The Depression-Demagogue at School	Arthur B. Moehlman	53
Outlook Book Choice of the Month	Robert Cantwell	56
Traveling With the News	Henry Albert Phillips	62
Check List of New Ideas		4

VOLUME 161 NUMBER 3

NEW OUTLOOK IS PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY OUTLOOK PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., FRANK A. TICHENOR, PRESIDENT; J. H. GERHARDT, SECRETARY AND TREASURER. PUBLICATION AND BUSINESS OFFICE, 515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. WASHINGTON OFFICE, NATIONAL PRESS BLDG., WASHINGTON, D. C. YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $3.00. COPYRIGHT, 1932, BY OUTLOOK PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

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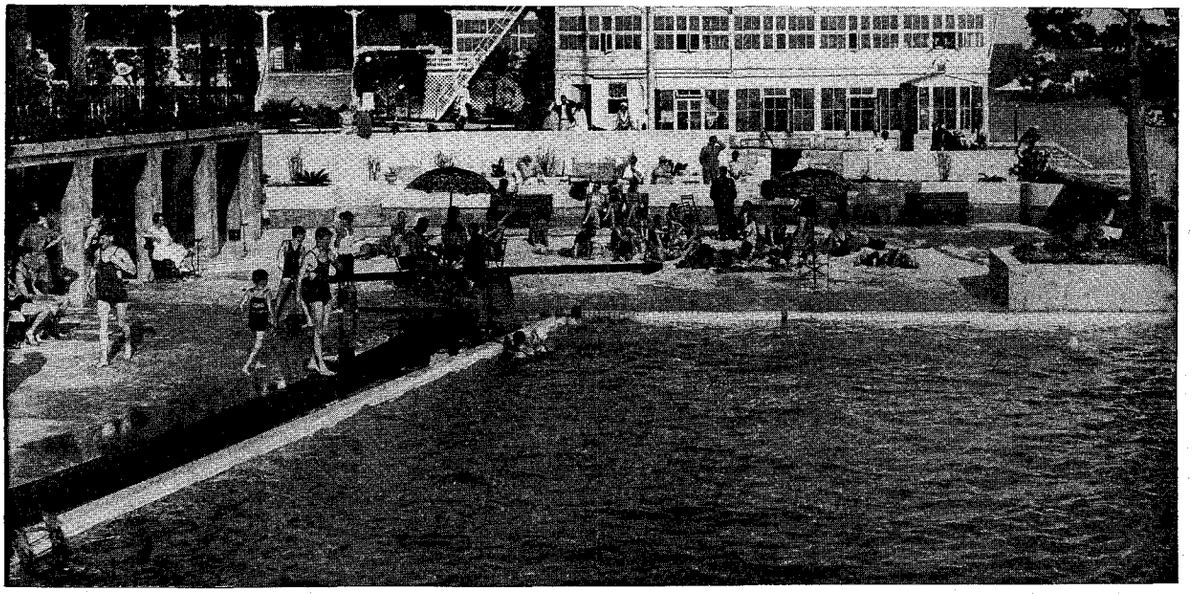

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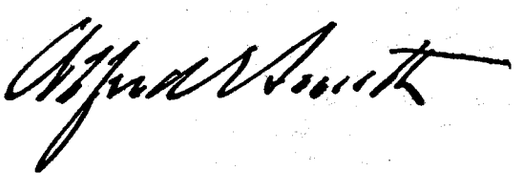
The New Outlook



THE ELECTION IN RETROSPECT

IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS, and by a very decided majority, the people of the United States who took part in this election determined to relieve the Republican party from responsibility for the government of this country after the fourth of next March and to place that responsibility upon the Democratic party. No election in the history of the country was ever won or lost on a single issue. There has always been a combination of circumstances which, taken all together, move the electorate in a body.

To my way of thinking while many things operated to bring about the overwhelming Democratic victory on November 8, undoubtedly high taxes played a most prominent part. The government, like every other corporation, or for that matter every individual, had its income materially reduced by the business depression and in order to balance the budget, it was necessary to increase existing forms of taxation and to provide new forms. Increased taxation at no time is popular, but it is exceedingly unpopular in times of business depression.

So-called nuisance taxes, promulgated at the last session of Congress, touched nearly everybody. They not only affected men with substantial incomes, but they had their effect even upon men and women out of employment. The man or woman in search of employment answering an advertisement in the paper paid additional postage. Amusements, highly essential at a time like this in order to relieve the otherwise over-burdened mind, have become victims of additional taxation. Every time I invited anyone to the Observatory Tower of the Empire State Building, I was personally compelled to contribute a tax to the Federal government. The use of public utilities was taxed as against the user. Many of the other manufacturers' excise taxes affect the white collar groups, many of whom are today feeling the depression in reduced salaries, if not in absolute unemployment. Added to all these are the greatly increased taxes on income.

The prostration of business and of industry and agriculture generally throughout the country which produced a comradeship between business men and working people out of employment comes next in the list of causes affecting the result of the election. Both groups were resentful, not necessarily because they believed that there was any certainty that there was something the government could do about it, but they did feel that the Federal government denied the actual existence of such a condition for so long a time that it became aggravated to the point where it compelled attention.

Not the least important was the question of the Eighteenth Amendment and its supporting legislation, the Volstead Act. During the prosperous days of 1926, '27, '28 and '29, the effect of the Eighteenth Amendment was studied by the people of this country mainly in its social reform aspects. It was only when the pockets of a large number of people were tapped to find additional revenue to support the government that prohibition became an economic question.

Some of the early advocates of repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment dealt with it in the main on the question of the principle involved. They resented the writing of police power into the Constitution of the United States and the bulk of their argument was based upon the theory that such power should never be given to the

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Federal Government, but should, under our scheme of government, be reserved to the States. That argument gathered few adherents to the cause of repeal.

Later, more people were brought into opposition to the Eighteenth Amendment when it was conclusively shown that the illicit traffic in liquor was a strong means of support for the criminal classes. The proceeds of their illicit profits financed the underworld adherents as they, never before this time, had been financed. The very general use of strong liquor by people who before the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment were content with light wines and beer, brought a certain number of converts to the cause of repeal, as did also the very general knowledge that young people were indulging in drink to a greater extent than ever, because it appeared to be smart to boast of possession of liquor.

The avalanche came, however, when prohibition became an economic issue and the people of the country suddenly awoke to the fact that money lost to taxes, or given in bribes to government officials, and the destruction of property in fruitless attempts to enforce the law, cost the country close to two billion dollars a year for the twelve years that we have been dealing with the noble experiment. This sum, if saved in the form of Federal taxes during the twelve years of prohibition, would have been sufficient to pay for the entire war debt of the United States—interest and principal.

With a full realization of this, the American people were entirely and completely disappointed with the Republican prohibition platform plank. There was a nationwide suspicion that the Republican platform was deliberately written to straddle the question to give comfort to the wets and to attempt at the same time to retain the support of the drys. And no part of that plank was criticized as much as its statement that no Republican need be bound by that platform unless he chose to be.

The voters were attracted to the Democratic platform plank on the Eighteenth Amendment by the definite proposal of immediate amendment to the Volstead Act in order that beer, not intoxicating in fact, might be manufactured, transported, possessed or offered for sale. Reasonable estimates show that this alone would have produced an annual revenue of $750,000,000.

The people were embittered, too, by a nationwide belief that the government of the United States is costing entirely too much money and that the administration in Washington failed to exercise that extreme economy which has been forced upon the people of the United States individually. There is a prevailing opinion that the government went on spending money knowing that it could broaden the sources of taxation at any time and reach into the pockets of the American people for the necessary money for the support of government. It not only did nothing to consolidate the scattered activities of the government machine and cut out waste and duplication of effort, but it further complicated the whole problem by passing the buck and shifting responsibility.

Moreover, there was extreme doubt in the minds of thinking people throughout the country generally as to the wisdom of the Republican policy of extremely high tariffs. The attitude of foreign countries toward the United States following the adoption of the last tariff bill registered in the minds of the people that there was something wrong about it, that it was not well thought out and that it was probably sponsored by groups of individuals who had something to gain by it. The complete Democratic sweep in the agricultural sections of the country was a rebuke for the futile and costly efforts of the Administration in behalf of agriculture.

With all of this there was also the belief that aside from passing on to the States and to localities the question of immediate relief to those in want because of unemployment, very little practical advance was made toward bringing the country out of depression in spite of elaborate machinery and large appropriations. The impression gained ground that the machinery was not geared to work promptly, that it was broken and wilfully made ineffective by delays, unnecessary red tape and insufficient authority.

All of these reasons must be coupled with the fact that our history shows that we vote negatively more often than we do affirmatively. It seems to be an American habit to be against something. It is probably easier to register a complaint than it is to pass intelligently upon a constructive proposal. The fact that the Democratic platform did definitely promise constructive achievement in some directions registered emphatically with the electorate.

●

DUTY OF THE PRESENT CONGRESS

I THOROUGHLY AND COMPLETELY disagree with any theory that the recent mandate of the people is to be directed only to those who were elected to office on November 8. I hold that it goes right to President Hoover himself and to the present Congress in the so-called Lame Duck session. The approval of the leading Democratic policies at this election should influence the action of the Lame Duck session and the President himself. If our party system of government means anything, the people of this country made their choice between platforms and candidates by overpowering majorities. In brief, the Republican policy was repudiated and the Democratic policy was approved; and there is no sensible reason that can be advanced why the people should be denied what they asked for so vigorously, any later than the first possible opportunity to enact it into law.

This is probably the last time that a President will serve for four months after his administration has been rebuked and a Congress, a large proportion of which will go out of office at the end of four months, be allowed to carry on and legislate contrary to the will of the people.

There can be no room for doubt that the Lame Duck session should immediately amend the Volstead Act to legalize beer. If we are to get the benefit of such a change and bring about re-employment as well as increases in revenue to help balance the budget for this year, such a modification must pass in the session to convene in December. I am unable to understand how President Hoover could possibly reject such a proposal if it is enacted by Congress. Congress would only be carrying out the will of the people and certainly that is what should be done.

Failure to procure the revenue that will come from amendment to the Volstead Act will necessitate addi-

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tional taxation in order to balance this year's budget. Up to date the estimated deficit is close to a billion and may run to twice that amount. It is unthinkable that after the mandate of the people, such a source of revenue would be deliberately passed up and new and additional taxes enacted which would still further burden business and the individual. I am satisfied that the American people, by and large, will have absolutely no patience with any such program.

●

PERSONALITIES AND CANDIDATES

IN ALL THE YEARS that I have been paying attention to campaign arguments and listening to thousands of people talking about them, I have never known an instance where there appeared to be so much personal dissatisfaction with a public official as there was with President Hoover. People disagreed with the policies of Bryan and not all people were entirely satisfied with the policies of Theodore Roosevelt or of Woodrow Wilson, who made many enemies. Although Mr. Hoover was an efficient executive of the business type, never have I known in my experience a President toward whom so much actual personal animus developed.

In contrast, the belief prevailed throughout the country that Governor Roosevelt would be closer to the people; that his administration would be more responsive to their needs and that he himself would be more informative as to the real condition of the country.

President Hoover's method of handling the information that should be given to the people was not in accordance with American ideas. The President must be a little more human. He cannot sit aloft on the throne looking down at the people. He must sit down with the people and talk with them. He cannot hold himself remote and aloof. He is one of them, and the day for the other type of thing has passed. It was an inheritance from the old European system, which does not meet present day conditions. Even the governments of Europe have had to learn this. The government is part of the people; it must come close to them.

Those men who have been eminently successful administrators in big business have often failed in government. They fail to realize that the head of a government is a magistrate and a political leader. Autocratic methods may succeed in private corporate business, but they never succeed in politics.

●

A HARD WINTER

AT THIS PERIOD of the year, the beginning of the winter, I cannot let this opportunity pass without calling attention to the situation which we face with regard to actual relief of distress. There is a threefold effort going on. The Federal government has appropriated $300,000,000 which can be loaned to the States under certain conditions to aid them in their relief work. Many States and localities have made appropriations for relief, out of their own funds. And then there are the private philanthropic efforts to meet the emergency and to carry on, at the same time, their regular routine activities.

These private agencies are overburdened by the added pressure of distress caused by unemployment. The individual contributor must provide for both the added burden brought about by prevailing conditions and for the continuing necessity to maintain our usual charitable endeavors at an adequate standard. Social agencies of every kind, whether for the care of dependent children, or engaged in those activities which minister to the educational, health and spiritual needs of our people, have extra burdens at this time. They not only need what they required in 1929, but their requirements are even greater by the aggravation of their problems.

Contributing for unemployment relief will not absolve us from giving to those agencies to which we have hitherto contributed. Unemployment is a new and additional burden which we hope will be temporary. Full duty is not performed if we withdraw anything from our usual responsibilities in the care of the sick, or of those who are dependent through no fault of their own, orphan children, the blind, the crippled and the aged. There are, too, those other community obligations which have hitherto carried on work in educational and social fields. There can be no shifting from existing obligations to the new obligations. We need to continue the old in full measure, while exercising utmost liberality toward the new. This applies to communities, as well as to individual philanthropic undertakings.

There is too great tendency to cut off what people are inclined to look upon as "extras" in this time of stress. Recreational and educational activities are too apt to fall under the ban of both private and public agencies. This is the time to maintain them adequately. It is not easy for people to tramp the streets looking for work or answering advertisements. Public and private resources which help them to maintain their spiritual and moral outlook during these discouraging times should be kept available. We must accept the extra load as an additional one and place at the disposal of our great social services for men, women and children the continuous, sustained assistance which they require.

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MUNICIPAL INVESTIGATIONS

THERE IS A THEORY CURRENT around the country that the people get just about the government they want and deserve. When the sovereign power of the State exercises its unquestioned prerogative to inquire into the affairs of its creatures, known as municipal corporations or local governments, among which are charters to local governments, it is based on the theory that remedial legislation will follow in order to obviate for the future any weakness which may be found in the local government.

It has been my experience that wherever the government of a city has been investigated, it has been regarded by the people generally as a political move and the foundation for the belief lies in the fact that legislative committees investigating municipalities rarely, if ever, suggest remedial legislation. This was true of the Meyer Committee that came down from Albany during the second administration of Mayor Hylan. It was true as to the Legislative Committee that investigated the affairs of the City of Albany. It is, in all human probability, generally true with respect to legislative investigations of cities, towns and villages throughout the United States.

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Nevertheless, whatever may be the revelations before the Legislative Committee now investigating the affairs of the City of New York, thinking people are no more convinced of the essential wickedness of the greater city than they are of the basic political piety of other large cities throughout the country, or of the ideal character of county and township government in the rural sections.

When you succeed in taking their minds off their own personal and business affairs and centering them on improvement of their local government with the facts properly and simply presented and clean-cut constructive issues provided to be voted on, good citizens are in the majority everywhere. The question therefore presents itself of what the City of New York will achieve of permanent and lasting benefit as a result of the investigation recently conducted. From newspaper accounts it is to be no further pursued along its earlier lines, but towards the middle of November it was announced that it would, from then on, be devoted to fact-finding with respect to the structure of the government for which constructive suggestions for betterments in the future might be made.

Stripped of technicalities the resolution of the New York State Legislature creating the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate the Affairs of the City of New York, more popularly known as the Seabury Investigation, outlined four duties:

(1) To ferret out individual instances of past or present wrongdoing;

(2) To determine whether the existing administration is as a whole honest, competent and trustworthy;

(3) To improve the structure and functioning of the city government;

(4) To make a chart or plan to guide future administrations.

Only the first has been done so far—and this not to an extent to prove anything definite and conclusive as to the second. The third and fourth, it was announced, would now be dealt with. Hitherto nothing in these directions had been indicated other than hints of approval of some revolutionary proportional representation and city manager plans, for which the public is totally unprepared.

It is true that the committee met with opposition—boring from within, and obstruction from without; but it cannot be said that such opposition excuses the lack of constructive work in a dozen fields. The majority of the committee and its counsel, perhaps without intent, more and more gave the impression of being interested only in hunting graft, and generally trying to get something on anyone connected with the administration. The legislative committee is about to shift the emphasis of the investigation to constructive fields. There is no lack of subjects to which the committee might profitably direct its attention.

No time has been given to questions of city policy. It takes real experts to bring out the necessary facts. The city has some exceedingly intelligent office-holders, both elected and appointed, who are responsible for the matters coming under their charge. The committee cannot tackle this question without expert help, and impartial experts can be found.

As a suggestion, it might be well for the committee to make a study of the survey of city affairs that was made by a committee appointed by Mayor Walker after his first election to the Mayoralty. It contained persons distinguished for ability along the lines of study that they conducted, and they made lengthy reports on a number of subjects. These reports should be analyzed. Among them was a suggestion for a complete reorganization of the city government and revision of our charter. More recently a taxpayers' committee has covered similar ground and has presented useful suggestions.

I believe that the present Legislative Committee could find obsolete offices and boards, the absurdity of whose existence dawned on the public since deficits in budgets and inability to market city bonds have drawn public attention to them. It may take some time to abolish and reorganize these activities as some of them will have to be done by constitutional amendment, others by charter revision. We will get some place in the long run if we pursue such a program. Many of our county offices within the city at substantial salaries can be found to be no longer necessary.

It is one thing to point out the weakness of individuals; it is a different thing to point out the weakness of a governmental system, and the latter weakness we are interested in because it has to do with the future of our government. Unquestionably there can be economy and efficiency in administration. This investigation and others like it all over the country will not have made full return to the people unless there can grow from them suggestions for remedial legislation that will improve the structure and make-up of the governmental machine.

Time runs against an investigating committee. The public loses interest and sympathy. The newspapers give their headlines to more popular subjects. The whole subject finally gets stale and it is impossible to revive it for a generation. For the rest of its life, it is to be hoped that the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate the Administration of the Various Departments of the Government of the City of New York will give its undivided attention to charter revision, reorganization of the government, and improvements in machinery and planning. Otherwise it will pass into history, as many have before it, with no lasting contribution to governmental betterment by law.

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Technocracy's Question

By Wayne W. Parrish

This is the second of a series of articles on the findings of the group of engineers known as Technocracy, which has laboratory headquarters at Columbia University.

HIDDEN BY THE RIFFRAFF of a thousand and one human sideshows of current happenings is the most potent and significant statement to be made in the 200,000 years or so of man's habitation on this small planet. By its extreme simplicity this little conclusion of Technocracy may easily escape attention, but on its acceptance depends the happiness, security and future existence of the peoples on the North American Continent. It is simply this:

"Man, in his age-long struggle for leisure and the elimination of toil, has finally arrived at that position where, for the first time, this goal is not only possible, but probable."

This is a conclusion of engineers, not theorists, and its significance is none the less far-reaching when it is broken down to the specific level of the nation in which 122,000,000 Americans live:

"With what is known of technology today in this country, it is now necessary for the adult population, ages 25 to 45, to work but 660 hours per year per individual to produce a standard of living for the entire population ten times above the average income of 1929."

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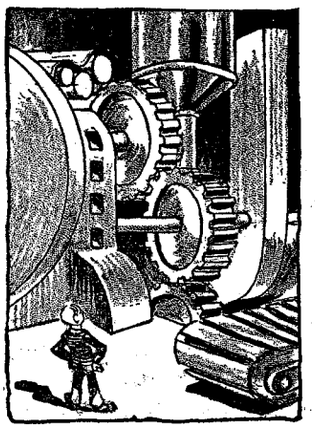
Does it not sound incredible? We have been hearing about five-day weeks and even six-hour days, but the engineers who compose that elusive organization known as Technocracy assert on the basis of actual facts that a four-hour day and a four-day week is all that is necessary to give everyone a much higher standard of living than the nation has ever known. Twenty years ago, even ten, this was not possible. Fifty years ago such an idea would have been a fantastic dream. But the terrific rush of mechanization of our civilization and the vast increased energy output rate per man on this continent (an increase of 8,766,000 times in the past thirty years!), has plunged the entire continent into the closing days of an era. The machine, the really big, technological mechanism that makes entire industries automatic, has changed the whole face of the social complex. It has now made possible, and necessary, the elimination of much of man's toil. It has made invalid every old social, political and economic postulate now in use. It has rendered political systems useless. It has sounded the death knell of old methods of exchange. It has shelved permanently the necessity for private enterprise and savings. It has made sterile the moral concepts of the virtue of labor. By its pervasive force in changing man's whole outlook upon life, it has opened the way for the greatest release of the so-called human values in history. It has provided the way for the elimination of individual greed and the enjoyment of leisure by everyone.



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Conversely, it is the presence of such an historic situation that places the United States today in the current condition of chaos. The downward decline since the fall of 1929 has never once abated, and Technocracy has predicted in no uncertain terms the greatest social wreck of all time unless this decline is halted, or controlled. It is simply the example of an ox-cart driver attempting to pilot an airplane. There is little time to learn to use the controls to avert a crash. All the wish-fulfillment thinking of American tradition, and all the exhortations of even the best intentioned politicians will not bring back the sweetness and light of prosperity by our present methods. Statesmen and industrialists alike, as "The New English Weekly" so aptly pointed out recently, are mere "corks bobbing on the rapids." The entire financial and industrial organisms have come to a death grapple with the machine. One or the other will have to go, and there is every indication that the machine, once its potentialities are fully realized by everyone, will not be the one to make its exit.

That the problems facing America are gigantic there is little question. That there is almost no adequate leadership is also apparent. A political system is quite satisfactory under a socially steady state where the rate of doing work remains practically the same. But a political system is helpless in a society which has rushed with a terrific speed, as America has done, into an energy state where existence depends upon the smooth functioning of energy transversion units. Particularly in America, where even the political administrations have helped to foster the idea of individual enterprise (or "rugged individualism" as it has been vulgarly called), the political system is wholly incompetent to effect the technical coordination necessary to handle a problem which is now of continental magnitude.

But let us keep the record straight. Before discussing an energy state and America's position as compared to the rest of the world, something should be said about the somewhat mysterious word Technocracy. On the one hand, it is the name of an informal functional research organization of engineers and scientists who have been conducting their research for the past two years in the department of industrial engineering at

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Columbia University. At the same time, it is the logical expression for a technological energy state. In view of the social changes wrought by the technological mechanisms in those nations which have had the energy resources available to use them, is it not logical to assume that Technocracy will take its historic place on the list following Democracy, Monarchy, Autocracy, and the like? Certain it is that Technocracy is as unlike the others, as they are unlike each other, and more so.

The beginnings of the word Technocracy go back to 1918 when a group of engineers, brought into relationship as a direct result of the World War, began corresponding and meeting to discuss the inevitable social changes that were even then being brought about by the installation of high powered machinery. Production had been stepped up to unprecedented heights. The scarcity of labor and the immediate demand for goods combined to bring about factories which were only a few stages away from being completely automatic. Late in 1919 a group of these engineers and a few others who were interested in this vital change, formed an organization known as the Technical Alliance, later to be called Technocracy. Then, as now, the guiding spirit was Howard Scott, and he began to conduct research with the aid of the alliance. Out of these modest beginnings have grown two immense results. One is a supremely important scientific contribution involved in a new Theory of Energy Determinants, and the other is the so-called "Energy Survey of North America" in which the methodology expressed in the theory is applied to the entire industrial and agricultural structure of America. It is necessary to make these distinctions in order to avoid confusion.

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Scott, who first enunciated the Theory of Energy Determinants, is just forty-two years old. Born in Virginia, he was raised and educated in Europe. His father was one of the builders of the Bagdad-Berlin Railroad, and at an early age young Scott was spending time in laboratories. His father was a strong believer in making his young son dependent upon himself. At the age of ten he was traveling about Europe alone. He attended a variety of schools in France and Germany and graduated early from the University of Berlin. He holds three or four university degrees, including the degree of Doctor of Engineering from the University of Berlin. In his early twenties he held a responsible research position in the dyeing industry in Germany. When the World War came he went to England. The family fortune, centered at that time in Constantinople, was confiscated and Scott worked his way to Canada as a stevedore. Identifying himself to the Canadian authorities he became a munitions expert and directed the building of two Canadian munitions plants. After the war he came to the United States and was appointed technician in charge of the building of the Muscle Shoals Project. Later he opened a consulting engineering office in New York. In his earlier years he traveled widely over the world, and directed engineering projects in Mexico, Spain and other countries. He is six feet two, refuses to have a "doctor" before his name, and has turned down a professorship in order to devote his entire time to the completion of the energy survey.

The others in that original group who are still active in the work include Bassett Jones, electrical engineer, of Meyers, Strong and Jones, Inc., of New York; Dr. Richard C. Tolman, of California Institute of Technology, who is a close friend of Albert Einstein; and Frederick Lee Ackerman, New York architect. Charles P. Steinmetz and Thorstein Veblen, noted scientist and economist respectively, were both active until their deaths. Today the members of Technocracy number 350 and are located in all parts of the world. Only during the last month, the number of otherwise unemployed draughtsmen and engineers who are doing the research and plotting hundreds of charts has been raised from thirty-six to one hundred. They are being paid by the Architects' Emergency Relief Committee of New York, and are housed at Columbia by Professor Walter Rautenstrauch, who is a member of Technocracy.

In essence, the Theory of Energy Determinants is a new method of social measurement obtained by the integration of all physical science as it pertains to social phenomena. This social measurement (of which energy production is the yardstick) can be laid down on any part of the world's surface. For the first time it becomes possible for man to quantitatively determine the limits of the standards of living of any social mechanism.

This new method, as utilized by the Energy Survey of North America, brings forth data and uncovers a world of fact not hitherto realizable, the resultants of which are an entirely new social perspective of the world in which we live. It is an integration of physics, chemistry, geology, geophysics, thermo-dynamics, zoology, biophysics, biology and physiology, insofar as these pertain to social problems. When viewed by the new method of measurement, local areas of the world take on quite different functional characteristics and direction than when viewed from orthodox social theory.

This physical concept and energy yardstick transcends all political doctrines. When applied to the North American continent they reveal clearly that communism, fascism, socialism and other political systems are entirely inadequate to cope with the needs of a new state of civilization.

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This methodology is a more fundamental departure from previous methods of thinking than was the Darwinian Theory, inasmuch as the latter affected only the *conceptions* of life while the second affects the operating of the technique of living in a modern social mechanism. The Darwinian Theory laid down the *laws* of growth of organic series, while the Theory of Energy Determinants makes it possible to determine the *rates* of growth of both organic and inorganic series. Obviously, when the full force of this pronouncement is felt on the social structure, it will be recognized as one of the most revolutionary concepts as regards all

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previous beliefs, thinking and methodology, that man has had to cope with. As usual, man will have to adjust himself to it; he cannot refute it for long.

Where is America today? It stands in a unique position in the world's history. Within the short span of thirty years it has come to the end of an era. Hundreds of years have been crowded into a few. It faces a greater decision than any nation has ever had to face. Its whole price system of production is crumbling under the tense pressure of immense energy and power. It has installed vast amounts of equipment to accomplish more work than man can do himself, and yet it is operating under a system designed when man was the only worker. On the one hand, America has the largest number of unemployed and the greatest total debt ever known. On the other it has the finest technically trained personnel (300,000 fully and 4,000,000 partially trained men) and the most magnificent array of physical equipment ever possessed by any human society. But that is not all. At no previous time, on no other continent, has there existed such a peculiar complex of energy and natural resources as exist on the North American continent. In the words of Scott, "It is the only continental area of the world's surface manned, equipped and ready to move civilization into the new era where man for the first time in his progression from the jungle is the conqueror in the battle for leisure."

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This is no plea for "social justice," no scheme for a Utopian realization of the humble rights of all men. It is a necessity. For the first time in history as a result of the technological advance we have achieved an economy of plenty in the midst of a hodgepodge of debt and unemployment. The plain fact is that the machine and men cannot both work on a parity basis any longer. The machine has pushed man out of work. There isn't room for him any more. Instead of being a cause for remorse this should be the most joyful proclamation in history. Let the machine do man's work for him. Let him have leisure. Of course the entire social structure must be changed. Why not? But again, it is not a matter of choice. Technology has brought our present system to its doom. There is no way out except by fundamental revision.

Let us compare America with other nations. Russia, with its much-vaunted Communism, is but a slight variation of the American price system when placed under an exacting light. With 92% of its population tillers of the soil, with meager technical facilities and "more musicians than technologists," as Mr. Scott expresses it, Russia found itself in the position of being compelled to inaugurate an industrial era under a Communistic price system of production with insufficiently developed energy resources and inadequate personnel. It was forced to call upon the outside world for technological assistance to set up in Russia obsolescent factories from an obsolescent price system.

"Russia, in its Parthian retreat from capitalism," Scott says, "has scored but a Pyrrhic victory. It mistook the name tag of a phase of the price system for its entirety. It left the tag and took its essential mechanics. A social approach based upon the substitution of a Hegelian dialectic for an Aristotelian dialectic may be an interesting intellectual pastime but of no functional importance, an example of the recrudescence of philosophic futility of European tradition."

England, with only one energy source left (coal), is going farther and farther down each year, Scott says; "and its inevitable position in the next most probable energy state will be two islands off the coast of the European continent." It squandered its original resources of copper, iron ore, tin and coal on world trade and debt creation until today, "it is fast retrogressing from its energy position of easily available energy to where it finds itself on a toboggan slide towards its original geographic position."

From the viewpoint of Technocracy, England is fighting a valiant but losing battle. With a high population density, without sufficient land resources to feed its own people and with its life blood dependent upon one energy source and that a declining one, England will soon be compelled "to make a free gift of its surplus 35,000,000 population to its various Colonial possessions." An astounding statement, to be sure, but the handwriting is on the wall. What can it do? Among the futile gestures which probably will be made will be the complete abandonment of monetary currency and current banking credit, and stringent preferential tariffs and purchasing agreements to lessen the disparity which exists in its international balance of world trade. The United Kingdom, once the proud ruler of the seas and the unquestioned center of the world's civilization, is fast disappearing from the scene and is helpless in the face of dissipated energy resources and technology.

Fascist Italy is in much the same situation. It possesses insufficient water power and almost no iron, copper, coal, oil or gas, but is offering bonuses to further increase its already dangerous population overload. Despite the strange but natural partnership of the political state and the vested interests, as expressed in Fascism, Italy is unable to provide herself with the basis for a modern industrial high energy social mechanism. Fascism—"a last ditch defense of a price system against the oncoming army of social change,"—is only able to maintain itself temporarily in Italy by the importations of foreign materials and energy resources for which it is still able to pay.

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Of other nations or continents little needs to be said. Asia is hopeless as far as a high energy civilization is concerned. There aren't the resources available. Our demagogues often talk of increasing our foreign trade without considering the fundamental facts. It is said that America can regain "prosperity" by raising the standard of living of the Chinese to the equivalent of the American standard. If this were done it would require more than 2½ times the energy consumption of the entire globe—a fantastic propo-

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sition. If China reached American standards, she would have to consume over four billion barrels of oil per year, 120 billion tin cans a year and approximately two billion tons of coal. These are naturally absurd figures. Energy resources cannot be drawn out of words. You can't take more coal out of the ground than is actually there. Australia has very few resources. It has almost no opportunity for further development. South America is greatly lacking in many essential resources. If all of Europe were combined into one unified energy state, a high standard of living could be obtained for all the peoples there, but language and nationalism present almost insurmountable barriers at present. Japan has attempted to operate a highly mechanized society under great handicaps. With limited resources and a high population density, she is reaching out to Manchuria for aid, but there is little there to help her.

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This international discussion resolves itself back into the unique position of North America. Here we have a Providential geologic set-up, trained personnel and installed physical equipment. No nation or group of nations in the entire world can be compared with the social complex of this continent. And is it not a continental problem, rather than national? Have the political boundaries on the north and south any real significance when placed in the light of energy? North America could barricade itself from the rest of the world and provide a large population with a higher standard of living than it has ever known. There is not a single major resource lacking. Of course, the problem of creating such a society is a real one. But more real yet is the fact that the nation is threatened with disaster shortly at its present rate. If there were a choice, the situation would be different.

How far away we are from "recovery" may be shown by glancing at two factors in our current complex, the immediate possibilities of technology and our supplies of raw materials on hand. One of the simplest examples of waste in holding up our price system is a common article like the razor blade. The technologist can easily produce a blade with a tungsten carbide edge on a steel wafer base at just twenty per cent additional cost of a blade today. But the blade would last a lifetime and longer. The razor blade industry could quickly supply the nation with these life-time blades, but the plants would have to shut down almost immediately. After a few weeks the demand for blades would be almost non-existent. The plants are open today only by marketing a product that needs constant replacing. It is not only unnecessarily costly but represents a sizeable wastage of valuable resources.

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If the comparatively new fibrous nettle plant, ramie, is introduced to industry (and eventually it will be) the entire wood pulp, silk, wool and cotton industries would be very seriously affected. Ramie has a 22-inch fibre, can be raised 1,500 pounds to the acre (compared to 150 pounds of cotton) and two and three crops can be obtained in a year in the southern states. There is no problem of picking, since it can be cut and bound with a thresher. If made into suits it wears seven times as well as wool, and several hundred times better than cotton. It has the advantageous property of being stronger when wet than dry. It can be made into paper cheaper than wood pulp and the paper can't be torn by the human hand. It has a lustre similar to silk and linen, can be woven with silk and rayon or wool and cotton, and takes dyes beautifully. The technologist can refine and prepare ramie for spinning by complete automatic process. Here is a fibre far superior to cotton or wool, that can also be made into paper that is many times better than wood pulp paper, and it can be manufactured with a bare minimum of operators. How soon will ramie enter the scene? Rayon was held off twenty years, but eventually these new materials are plunged into the competition. Meanwhile we buy suits that wear out quickly, linen and other goods that the laundry makes fast work of, and we print on paper that tears easily and uses up our forest reserves. Why?

The technologist is able to produce an automobile that would really be of service. Designs are all complete for a machine that would have a Hickman or a boat-type bottom, individual wheel suspension, exposed steel parts that would not rust, frictionless bearings throughout, and would have an average life of 300,000 to 350,000 miles without a general overhauling. While the energy cost of production would be almost 50% more than a high quality automobile of today, its life would be ten times that of the average car on the road today. And we would not be junking cars by the millions in order to provide a turnover for a price system. But just think what would happen if this car were produced! With a production capacity of 8,000,000 cars per annum, we could replace all cars in operation in the United States in three and a half to four years. Except for a replacement business resulting from damage, there would be no subsequent demand for automobiles in this country for the succeeding fifty years! What would become of earnings, stocks, bonds, employment? But rumors are already about that several companies intend to produce an automobile shortly that will begin to approach the one mentioned above. It is inevitable when there is no control.

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Shoes? It's the same story over again. The technologist can produce leather today that is waterproof and has a wearing quality that would make an average pair of shoes wear two and a half years. But our shoe industry, running way under capacity as it is, could supply the nation with a ten years' supply of these shoes within a period of eight or ten months. Believe it or not, the shoe industry has a capacity of 900,000,000 shoes per year. Where is the market?

Then, to complete the picture, let us answer the 1932 demagogue who is making himself hoarse appealing for public works programs. Build more roads, he says. In the first place, human labor is no longer sufficient to meet the exacting requirements of our

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roads on which we operate high powered cars. Only machines can achieve exactness for machines. Secondly, a machine is already developed and waiting for a public works market that, with two men operating it per shift, or six men for each twenty-four hours, can tear up an old road or street, lay foundations for pavement, and put on the pavement sixty-feet wide, at the rate of eight miles a day! Keep such developments out? It is impossible under the price system, for a primary requisite of a price system is that production costs be cut, and more efficient machinery is the best way to cut costs.

A factory for the production of rayon yarn is nearing completion in New Jersey. Its operation is entirely mechanical and production can be carried on twenty-four hours a day without a single worker in the plant. By means of photo-electric cells it will be possible for an official in the New York office to change dyes without leaving his desk and without human assistance at the plant.

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These are examples taken at random from behind the scenes. Is it any wonder that our present log cabin methods of conducting business are being crushed underfoot? Can there be any hope in palliatives and remedies in Washington? A few stabs here and there will be of no use. Our stocks of raw materials alone are enough to slow up recovery indefinitely. We have enough copper on hand to take care of all of our needs for two years without mining an ounce. We have enough cotton to make unnecessary the raising of an acre of it next year. The consumption of rubber is at the lowest point in ten years but the stocks on hand in America or on the high seas consigned to America are sufficient to meet the present needs for fifteen months. A few years ago we carried 68,000,000 tons of iron ore on the Great Lakes. This year we are carrying 3,000,000 tons and had enough ore already stored up to last a year or more.

The situation is extremely serious, but our economists, our prophets and our elected leaders are still wallowing in wish-fulfillment thinking and trying to patch up isolated phases. No one seems to have courage to tackle the real problem.

Technocracy does not maintain that our present downward decline cannot be halted. A policy of inflation, by which large amounts of purchasing power would be injected into the business flow, would naturally cause an oscillation upward if purchases could be stimulated in every line. But the force would of necessity have to be a strong one. The depression has continued too long for any mild doses. A short-lived "prosperity" is all that could be hoped for, for the resulting downward oscillation would be sharp and deep. One must remember that the downward oscillation of the present depression is four times greater than any other in history. This is no mere "business cycle." Technocracy maintains that America is at the close of an era and the actual ending is dependent only upon the length of time artificial stimulants can be injected. At the best, the time is short. The day of reckoning is growing nearer every week.

But to return to the primary thesis. Why is America at the end of an era? First of all, it is of the greatest importance to consider just what has happened in the way of energy consumption. For all the long period of time of man's habitation on this earth, clear up to the year 1800, there existed a socially steady state; the amount of work of any kind that was done was limited to man's own output. Man was the only engine. Then came the steam engine, then electricity to do more work than man could do. In the last 130 years, the rate of output of man increased 9,000,000 times, and the great bulk of this increase has come in the past thirty years. Today, America is equipped with one billion installed horse power in primer movers. If this were operated at capacity, it would do work at a rate, which if we attempted to do by man power alone, would require over five times the population of the globe. Our production in every line has skyrocketed, while the man hours per product and total man hours per industry have steadily declined until today we are able to produce more than ever. Because the machine can do this we have no room for fifty per cent of our 14,000,000 unemployed even if our factories were operating at 1929 peak production. At the present downward rate we will have 25,000,000 unemployed by 1934, without taking into account any acceleration from disorder. While employment has been decreasing, we have increased our debt load upwards to above $218,000,000,000 by shoving present responsibilities off to the future.

There is evidence on every hand that our price system is crumbling. It operated passably well while man was in a socially steady state and has served after a fashion during our bewildering 130-year sprint into an energy civilization. In the earliest primitive days when each family was independent there was no medium of exchange. Does not the evidence indicate that we have now arrived at a state at which it is not only possible but necessary to eliminate a medium of exchange? Certain it is that the impact of technology on our price system has proved the futility in the future of stocks, bonds, savings, equities, mortgages and all other concomitants of our past system.

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The time has come for a revision of all of our standards of value. The machine has brought us to a new era. We can gain nothing from European political systems for they arose out of price systems of a steady state. We must design our own society. We must evolve new concepts to meet the needs of a changed outlook, a new level of civilization on the globe. The technological advance of thirty years has now made it possible for man to eliminate much of his toil. In doing so it has doomed the entrepreneur and the entire system of selling for price. Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome have led the world in their days. "The past is thick with empires' dust." A new continent is able to take its position in the leadership of the civilization of tomorrow. Technocracy poses that question.

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The Green Baize Epoch

By Anne O'Hare McCormick

In the last fourteen years the world has indulged itself with fifty international conferences. Conferring has become a world habit. Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick discusses the social significance of the wars fought across conference tables.

A NIGHT OR TWO after the election a group of the depressed who can still afford to dine unwisely were discussing the end of twelve years of Republican rule as the end of an epoch. The words have a familiar ring. The mortality among epochs has been heavy ever since the war; if we believe what we read, they have been dying on us at the rate of about one a year. There has been, it is true, a compensating birth rate. New epochs have been ushered in by the same sponsors at the same speed. Revolution, applied impartially to an over-turn of government, a change in the chassis or a shift in the waist line, has become the most over-worked word in the language.

In this rise and fall of soon-forgotten epochs—who remembers that delicate semi-annual of a single spring, the Hoover Era?—any radio announcer can name another without causing a ripple on the tired air. The surprise comes when you look back upon the pre-war world and discover that we must indeed have passed through aeons on the way from then to now. The space between is so great that in 1932 it is difficult even to imagine the mental horizons of 1912.

What was there to worry about when there was not yet too much of anything, when no one nagged about Economic Planning, when mass production had not swamped us, and our new masters, the technocrats, had not pronounced our near and dreadful doom? In 1912 the machine was still the great deliverer and we had not thought of putting engineers in government. We were not a Great Power so far as any one knew; we owed money, and were cheerful debtors instead of desperate creditors, holding the IOUs of the world. What problems troubled a generation that never heard of post-war problems? What soured the secular temper before there were war debts? Where did nations quarrel before they invented the kleig-lighted ring of the international conference?

The gentlemen who put these questions were in a twilight mood induced by election returns and the end of the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover dynasty. They mourned the lusty day of the Irreconcilables and saw in the Democratic come-back the final petering out of the American policy of isolation. What most distinguishes the world of the second Roosevelt from that of the first, they said, is the new nonchalance between nations, exemplified by the joint and jaunty resolution of debtor states offering to forgive us their debts. "The final spurt of American independence began and ends with a Roosevelt," sighed one. "We held out against Wilson with George Washington, but George never dreamed a moratorium could be at our expense. The in-conference era has begun."

It began long ago. The war halted on the battlefield in 1918 has been carried on ever since over the table. In fourteen years more than fifty special international conferences have been held, four in the United States if we count the Rapidan conversations. This count does not include the periodic, almost perpetual, parley represented in the 65 Council meetings and the 13 general assemblies of the League of Nations. Perhaps America would be there, too, if this organization had been recognized from the first as a Conference of Nations, or had been clearly described as the experimental method which it is instead of the super-power which it so sadly isn't. Conferences and committees we can never resist. The political convention is an American specialty; even for this first world convention we had to write the platform.

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Seen in retrospect, the parade of conferences seems to have made more news than progress. Most observers incline to agree with Will Rogers that what the world needs is fewer get-together meetings. Community sings, when everybody is intoning a different national anthem, don't produce much harmony, and a dozen years of almost uninterrupted table talk among nations has driven most of them home to dig in deeper than ever between trade barricades and fortified frontiers. The actual casualties are fewer, but the conference form of warfare appears more irritating at times than the impersonal sniping of the trenches. Too many of the conferees live to fight another day—and along the same old line.

Four out of five conferences have failed. None has accomplished what was expected of it. At the end of a hundred-odd peace meetings the world is still in a state of war. The universal crisis is aggravated by political and economic conflicts deadlier than the four years of open hostilities. But the conferences keep on. They have become a world habit, one of the customs of the time. Of all the contemporary phenomena they are the most tantalizing and in some ways the most significant, like recurrent phrases in a dissonant prelude which forecast the theme of an unwritten symphony. Nothing in life, of course, particularly in the confused life of today, works out as neatly as rhetorical periods, but if we are going to start a fresh paragraph anywhere and announce a new era, let it be here.

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We are developing, in conference, a new international technique. It is a forced development, with no roots and no strengthening tradition. Governments are up against a set of facts they have never met before, and political powers are no better prepared than industrial powers to deal with the consequences of technological change. The Conference represents a kind of huddle against the unknown on the part of nations which can neither live with the world nor without it, and palpitate between extreme nationalism and nervous spasms of co-operation. There is no refuge behind walls in the world of the radio, the wireless and the airplane, and as yet no security outside walls. We keep on conferring because conference implies a kind of order, an effect of community, and we fear to put an end to international conversations lest the ensuing silence would be more dangerous.

So conference succeeds conference until we have what amounts to an unacknowledged world parliament. And this is really a new epoch, what might be described as the green baize epoch.

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My net impression of international assemblies is of endless oval tables around which droop elderly men, gray with fatigue and boredom, or white with repressed resentment. The tables are covered with green baize which absorbs the tapping of the delegates' pencils, the fumbling of their thoughts, the drone of their speeches. Sometimes, but rarely, it muffles the sounds of the voices back home, always louder at such gatherings than any voice present, and then the green baize becomes for a moment a round table for frank discussion and real compromises. Sometimes a speech makes every one sit up, look up, feel the essential solidarity of humanity vitalizing these new forms of common effort. Three times I have heard such speeches. Twice the speaker was Briand; once it was Ramsay MacDonald.

The delegates of nations today are usually nervous, worried, and unpretentious men. They resemble neither members of national parliaments nor the haughty plenipotentiaries of the past. Unlike the Senators of the United States, for instance, they speak for states which have little in common except a common danger and a common desire to save both their egos and their lives. They have no clear mandate, no guide posts in a strange environment, and they are often futile because they come from weak and unstable governments. And unlike their predecessors in the infrequent parleys of former times, say the glittering envoys who carved up Europe at the Congress of Vienna, they work in a blaze of publicity and represent the new idea—still mostly an idea—of international democracy. But the little fellows do speak up, to the annoyance of the big guns, unused to interruption. Even the Socialist spokesmen for the great powers, men like Herriot and MacDonald, do not enjoy having to consult the small fry at Geneva and every so often Mussolini flares up in scorn of the "endless prattle" of the conference tables.

Nothing dramatic or glorious marks the green baize epoch. Nations do not march together to music except on the way to war, and this movement, if anything so sedentary can be called a movement, creeps towards a goal which none of the participants really desires to reach. One has only to look at the conferences of 1932, however, to perceive that voluntarily or involuntarily we are in motion. The characteristic of our times is the clash between systems, the discord between tempos, and here we see a break between two orders, the national and the international.

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Here is one of those efforts at readjustment which have the force of instinct. We are far beyond the stage of making the world safe for democracy. The question now is on what terms any national entity can survive in the present world economy. The boundaries erected on the principle of nationality cannot hold, it is evident, unless they are worked into a larger and looser pattern. That is what was indicated by the Ottawa and the Danubian conferences, each an attempt to enlarge free trade areas, to make one economic nation out of several political nations. The Lausanne and the Disarmament conferences, growing out of a war that no power on earth could localize, express the universal conviction that nothing can ever be local again. One convened to put an end to the last war by liquidating the reparations system, the other to prevent another from destroying us altogether. The enormous difficulty of both tasks lies in the nature of nations. The world is full of peaceful peoples, all very much alike and all agonized by the thought of war, who somehow turn ferocious, almost cannibalistic, whenever they pose or are referred to as nations.

This year's conferences show clearly the tendency towards a new world order. They are the most important since Versailles because they demonstrate that the Versailles system did not correspond to reality; no nation can live on nationality alone. Thus the Danubian conference, abortive though it was, was an admission by the succession states that if they are to exist as political units they must replace the Austrian Empire by an economic federation. The Ottawa Conference was equally an admission, on a more impressive scale, that Great Britain cannot exist save as an empire, that is to say that no member of the commonwealth, no matter how fully self-governing, is able to live single and self-supporting in a world of insuperable tariff walls.

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The August reunion of the British family of nations was as ill-tempered as only a family gathering can be, but it reached agreements more comprehensive and important than anybody expected while the altercations were going on. Canada exerted sufficient pressure on the mother country to make England reverse her commercial policy in respect to Soviet Russia, and the trade preferences accepted will cut us out of business estimated to be worth anywhere from $50,000,000 to $250,000,000 a year.

Ottawa's significant accomplishment, however, was to lay the framework for a new kind of imperial struc-

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ture. The seven independent nations of the commonwealth agreed to revoke "favored nation" treaties with other states in order to favor one another. They have in effect subscribed to the principle that a high-tariff policy is possible only if based on free trade within a large enclosed area, as in the United States. At the same time Great Britain announced that she will join any movement designed to break down tariff barriers.

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Here is the first definite reaction from economic nationalism. Ottawa shows the trend toward the development of trade empires, systems of regional co-operation and commerce. Danubia, the Soviet Federation, the Buy-British empire, may lead in time to Briand's Pan-Europa, perhaps to Pan-America. It is freely predicted that the effects of the imperial conference agreements, if carried to their logical conclusion, will drive the twenty-one American republics extending south from the United States into a Pan-American commercial union.

In acting to enlarge economic boundaries without dislocating political frontiers, Ottawa defines one phase of the trend towards world reorganization. Lausanne represents another phase. If 1932 had not been an extraordinary year, crowded with large events and individual problems, we should have apprehended in the Lausanne conference the sudden, not to say violent death of the great delusion of the post-war decade. I say sudden, though of course what happened in June, 1932, was already written in the moratorium on war debts announced by President Hoover in June, 1931. The characteristic of international conferences is to take small steps slowly, but in two days Lausanne, by wiping out all but a tenth of Germany's bill for reparations, ended with one sweep the years of travail and the mountains of bookkeeping that produced the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, the Wiggin Report, and all the mythical billions so commonplace in international conversation that I have often wondered if they set the standard for the financial fantasia that came to a crashing finale in 1929.

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It goes without saying that Lausanne expressed Europe's ultimatum to Washington. As inevitably as it followed the moratorium, and the advice of the American government that Europe should set its own house in order before making any further appeal to us, so inevitably it led to the request for suspension of payments on war debts until the "regime of international financial obligations as now existing," in the words of the British note, have been reviewed. Whatever happens in the struggle now impending in Congress, no responsible statesman, here or abroad, believes that the debts will be cancelled, or that they will be collected. By 1931 public opinion was as far ahead of Congress on this issue as in 1932 it proved to be on the issue of prohibition. The average American, as any one can testify who has traveled over the country in the past year, accepted the logic of the moratorium and of Lausanne long before it was recognized by the politicians. He is as ready as the more enlightened economists to trade the debts for real and present advantages. Furthermore, this average citizen, always more realistic than his political representatives, sees clearly enough the close connection between the decision taken at Lausanne and the course to be charted at the conferences on disarmament and on international economic problems.

That conferences of this scope should be in session at the same time, as they will be in 1933, is in itself a sensational sign of the direction the world is taking. For six months this year the Disarmament Conference sat in Geneva. The emphasis is on the word sat, because to the public that seemed to be its posture. It took no action that anybody could see; it did not even assume an attitude when its deliberations were mocked by the roar of guns in the Far East. In January it will begin a second semester, probably as long as the first. It took two months to hear the fifty national views of the fifty nations represented. All these views were divergent and all combined to stress divergences that never would have been aired if the delegates had stayed at home. They would have existed none the less, for the important thing to remember about conferences is that they do not make trouble; they only make us aware of how much trouble there is.

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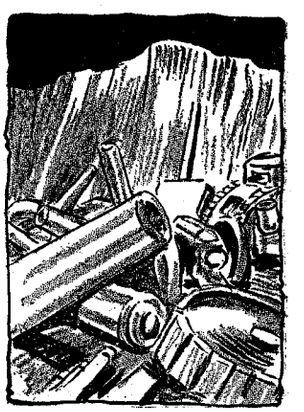
The peacemakers dragged along in disagreement, in an almost unbroken fog of mathematical formulas. They were exceptionally able and sincere, and President Hoover deserves credit for injecting some life and hope into the proceedings by his concrete proposal for an all-round one-third cut in armaments. But the delegates were dealing with the thought-habits of centuries, and with nations ready enough to renounce war but less ready to accept the positive substitutes for war which alone make it safe to abolish armaments. It was not until after the session ended that Germany's threat to withdraw from the conference unless permitted to negotiate on a basis of equality, meaning arms equality, made the problem at once more difficult, more urgent and more real. France will never accept reduction if confronted with the danger of a re-armed Germany sallying into the Polish Corridor or safeguarding an "Anschluss" with Austria. And Germany, freed from occupations, freed from reparations, prodded by Hitler, embittered by poverty, reverting to the strong nationalism and junkerism typified by the Cabinet of the Barons, will never rest until released from the limitations placed upon her by the Treaty of Versailles.

The only answer is to proceed as fast as possible with general disarmament! Hence France's drastic scheme for universal equality in armament, or disarmament, and the setting up the nucleus of an international force. Hence the English proposals for the abolition of specifically aggressive weapons of all kinds. The conference will resume in another atmosphere, faced with plans which proceed from an entirely new conception of the sovereign right of nations to arm or to act independently. Not the least of the ironies of



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these ironic years is that Germany, eighteen years after, is the power pushing us at last towards practical disarmament.

Eventually the problems of all the conferences—trade agreements, inter-governmental debts, arms reduction—will pour into one conference, the meeting soon to be called to tussle with the economic break-down of the world. When the free-traders of the British cabinet resigned rather than ratify the Ottawa agreements, they were solemnly rebuked by Ramsay MacDonald. "The work (of the National government) is not finished and cannot be finished," he said, "until one way or another there is a reparations and debt settlement and there is a world economic settlement. We must continue until these things are done."

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When this world conference meets, probably in London in the spring, it will be under conditions more favorable to the solution of insolubles than could have been conceived in the preliminary economic conference of 1927. For now we are no longer nations rich and poor, secure and insecure, dependent and independent, able to take anything or leave it. For perhaps the first time, even America does not go to a conference as a favor to the world, in a mood of condescension towards troublesome foreigners. We go looking for help like all the others, and convinced that fiscal policies, movements of goods and capital, price levels, unemployment, most of the problems on the agenda of the financial and economic experts preparing the program for the discussions, cannot be dealt with save by common action on a global front. President-elect Roosevelt has a program for recovery based on negotiations and co-operation with other governments. Senator Borah, the Great Isolationist, wants us now to be in conference all the time, urges us boldly to take our place at the head of the table. "I would attend any conference in which economic and financial questions were to be discussed," says he. "I don't think the United States can help this situation by being in part of the time and out part of the time."

Nothing more strikingly illustrates the world tendency than the change in the American attitude. It cannot be said that this tendency has been developed by the conference habit. The conference is rather a proof of the tendency. We are all swept into conference by the force of events, and if the meetings between nations today seem to accomplish more than those of yesterday, seem to be formulating a new world policy, in fact, it is not because they move by their own power but because they are pushed forward by the pressure of necessity. Yet the movement is no less significant because it is forced. The conference has become a method. It is clear to every eye that either we have to follow the ideal of self-sufficiency to the point where every nation is isolated from every other nation or we have to contrive by some means a kind of world community. "It has become practically impossible," says Sir Arthur Salter, "for any country to adopt a fundamentally different economic system from that of the other countries with which it trades and with which it competes in the markets of the world."

The conference is a kind of school wherein a world mind is being moulded. Green baize is the color of a Fourth International, replacing alike the faded red of the Third and the patchwork of national colors which have to float somewhere together if they are to float anywhere separately.

No wonder the gentlemen around the table look dazed, worried and inadequate. Though few of them seem to realize it, they are engaged in the terrific task of talking the old world out and the new world in. The choice is conference or chaos, some system of community of nations, or no system and anarchy.

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The End of an Era

By Forrest Davis

The Volsteadian era stands as one of the classic examples of mass resistance against unwanted legislation. Forrest Davis, who reviews this Dry Time, is a New York newspaper man and the author of "What Price Wall Street?"

IT IS, BY NOW, apparent to even the dullest citizen that the pious interment of John Barleycorn in the year 1920 occurred prematurely. The American people, in decisively electing a wet President and Congress on a wet plank that stands as a model for candor, resurrected Mr. Barleycorn. They did not set out consciously, we may believe, to restore an engaging symbol. The aim of the majority, expressed according to predilection, locality and self-interest, undoubtedly was, variously, for a nickel glass of honest beer, relief from Federal taxes and an end to a recklessly criminal period. But whatever the prevailing motive, whether related to thirst, good business or sound morals, the American voter of November 8 gave us as an end product Barleycorn redivivus and the beginnings of another era—the third, speaking approximately—in our experience with rum in a modern society.

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No sensible man doubts, granted reasonably good faith on the part of the Democratic majorities, that last month's election marks the abandonment of prohibition as a national policy. The mass conversion of the American people to a drastically opposed attitude respecting liquor regulation—perhaps the swiftest and most spectacular shift in a population's viewpoint since the nationalization of Christianity under Constantine or that later King of Russia who bade all his subjects repair promptly to the icy streams for baptism according to the Greek rite—seems effectively complete. What remains is merely for the triumphant majority, duplicating the fervor and methods of the drys in 1917, '18 and '19, to carry their will into effect in Congress and State conventions. Or, so, it appears. The Anti-Saloon League and allied groups of agitation procured the ratification of the thirty-sixth State for the Eighteenth Amendment in one year and twenty-nine days. The dry forces were militant, plentifully endowed; the opponents of national prohibition bewildered and unorganized. Now the situation is the reverse.

Whether, as certain gay patriots fondly hope, we have licit "beer by Christmas," it seems safe to assume that we have passed out of a fabulous, twelve-year Volsteadian interregnum and have turned at least one corner.

A new era in liquor regulation. But is it new? We note the resurrection of John Barleycorn, genial figure of the contentious old past when the brewer's big horses couldn't run over little girls in blue organdy with white bows pinned to their bosoms; when the Demon Rum lurked in the bottom of the stripling's first glass; county option, the Raines law, Sunday closing, county church bells tolling throughout election days, revivalistic onslaughts on the "liquor interests" and the "corner saloon." We are entering a new day, but will it not remind us of our frenetic past before the Eighteenth Amendment settled "once and for all" the citizen's approach to the drink problem?

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Manifestly, with the return of liquor control to the States, we are reverting to the pre-Volstead era of local trial and error—making it possible, as the late Dwight W. Morrow suggested, to experiment in "forty-eight laboratories instead of one." In ridding ourselves of the Eighteenth Amendment we may be certain we are not eliminating liquor from politics. The tradition of temperance reform by legislation is too time-honored thus to be laid. It has survived too many changes up to and including the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, a recourse which the late President Harding, at that time a Senator, believed would forever relieve Congress of pressure from wets and drys.

We need only reflect upon the waves of organized prohibition sentiment which spread through the land in the 1840's and '50's; again in the 1880's, and, latterly, in the pre-War years, to apprehend what is in store on that head. Singularly, the prohibition movement in this country has paralleled the rise of evangelistic fevers. In the fore part of the last century, the so-called "great religious awakening" spread outward through England and Wales to this country; Moody and Sankey aroused the Evangelical hosts to seek obvious social reform in the '80's; the Rev. William F. (Billy) Sunday, the Rev. J. Wilbur Chapman and hosts of imitative exhorters stirred the godly in the West and South into a tempest of reform, centering on the abolition of rum, in the first decade of this century.

Dissent, as we know, feeds on active revolt against authority, whether expressed in institutions, custom or law. It seems plain that the newest era will bring its crop of pulpit prophets, bestirring, with their own special sort of self-interest, the waters of liquor legislation; so we may expect inspired propagandists on the other side to exert their arts of persuasion.

In this new era, citizens should have cool heads, should attempt the scientific approach to a knotty problem as old as the first man who discovered the decadent alchemy of fermentation. But it seems unlikely that we will be left alone to work it out detachedly. We plunged into bone-dry national prohibition a short four-

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teen years ago; we now abruptly repudiate that policy. Unlike European countries, whose leaders sought through the painful processes of reason to find a solution to the drink evil, we Americans are addicted to quick, emotional decisions. Unless our racial nature changes overnight, we shall be subjected to the mindless urgency of "pressure groups."

The Ontario system . . . . the Bratt plan . . . . no saloons, the continental cafe . . . . Government sale through State liquor stores . . . . Dr. Butler's formula, John Jones's scheme. We are, undoubtedly, in for ample bedevilment by advocates of patterns for handling the essentially simple question of where and how the desirous citizen may purchase, or make, a drink of consoling or exhilarating beverage for himself.

It really is too bad. But it is a penalty we pay, as an excessively moral people, for over-emphasizing the social and ethical significance of one among many practices with which man is familiar.

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In leaving one period—the irrational interval between January 16, 1920, when the National Prohibition Act became effective, and November 8, 1932, on which date the people definitely forsook "an experiment noble in motive"—for the next, we necessarily consult the experience we so painfully have gathered for insight into our new estate. What evils, what boons do we carry over?

On the debit side, we find at once a dismaying factor. The illicit liquor interests, built up within the last twelve years, infinitely shrewder, more venal and anti-social than the brewery interest that invoked Miss Willard's virginal aversions, remain to be dealt with. That is likely to be an ugly problem.

Immediately after the election, we are reliably informed, the leaders in the bootlegging racket met in New York to map their strategy. They determined, it was said, not to surrender the profitable job of manufacturing, importing and distributing intoxicants without a trial of strength. During hours when the beer-conscious elements in the nation were rejoicing; when Mayor Cermak of Chicago invited the brewers to renew their vats with potent lager, with Mayor Hoan gravely prophesying that Milwaukee presently would regain its position as the "Munich of America," with barley futures restored to the Chicago Board of Trade after nine years of exile, the beer barons in New York disappointedly meditated the purchase of additional brewery plants and an intensification of vicious competitive methods. The Rupperts, the Busches, the Pabsts might plaster the billboards with assurances that they retained their pre-Prohibition cunning in lagering a suitable tipple; but the underworld mobs, intrenched under the robes of the law, do not intend to retire peaceably. New times, new men, they argue. They talk of applying gangster methods to the job of forcing restaurants, grocers, whatever outlets are legitimized, to purvey the beer of the present masters of the trade. Sluggings, "pineapples," taking rivals "for a ride. . . ."

The importers of hard liquor from the Bahamas and Bimini, the important "alky" cookers, the owners of chains of cordial shops; they, too, look now to their commercial laurels.

Shall we see the sale of spirits, wine and malt beverages being legalized, a further challenge to the government from the established bootleg interests? Such a conflict should be short and decisive. The racketeer flourished during the life of the Eighteenth Amendment largely because of the benevolent indifference of the citizen. Rum-smugglers, beer-runners, speakeasy-owners enjoyed an informal franchise which is likely to be withdrawn once the disgruntled citizen again is in accord with his government on a certain private matter. The American, engaged in one of the most astonishing passive rebellions in history, indulged the Al Capones, the Owney Maddens and their understrappers, in naïve terrorism because they were operating an obnoxious, but essential, utility.

But the American is not, by nature, a timid, tolerant soul. The idea of gang wars, of crime overlords arising upon the profit of liquor law violations, never sat quite easily on his conscience. Without running much risk in setting up as a prophet, it might generally be said that once the citizen finds he may obtain his beverages —at not too great a disparity in cost, mind you, for our citizen is no self-denying idealist—legally and upon his own political terms, he will not extend sympathy to the Capones and the Maddens.

However, we would be justified in regarding the rivalry of the bootleg liquor interests with whatever system the State governments may establish, as the foremost predicament of our new era. Mr. Volstead's regime has empowered a band of bold, able and, wholly unscrupulous business men for a continuation of their own special war on authority.

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On the credit side, certain factors appear encouraging to those who wish a wise solution. The pervasive, chain-store power of the brewer appears likely to remain broken. Few social critics have attributed to the trustifying of the brewery business its full share of blame for prohibition. The Wickersham Commission, in a passage of its report seldom quoted, put a telling finger on that abuse. "Much of the failure of the systems of liquor control devised in 19th Century America was due," said the report, "to their presupposing an economic situation which was ceasing to exist. For example, the high license system sought to insure responsible local sellers of good character and standing who might reasonably be expected to conform to the regulations imposed by local opinion and expressed in local laws. But the days of the old independent local tavern keeper were gone. The business of brewing and distilling came to be organized. The local brewer and local distiller, supplying a limited local trade, gave way to great corporations. . . . More and more the local seller ceased to be independent and became a mere creature of some producer."

The "liquor interests" of our fathers actually were

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unresponsive, unlocalized interests. Piled upon the accumulated mistrust of liquor was the wide social distrust of big business.

The Wets have reason to rejoice also in that twelve years of nationwide prohibition have increased the proportion of women who drink, socially and casually. Women, the grim enemies of man's conviviality in John Barleycorn's earlier sway, may be found draped over bars from New York to Santa Barbara. A foremost cause of national prohibition lay in the fact that pioneer man, a thoroughly pestered soul if we credit the record, restrained "good" women, save itinerant Carry Nations, from entering his grogshops. It would have been better had he invited the girls in; and post-prohibition man, fending a wary way between long cigarette holders to an elbow place in his nearest ark of solace, understands that. Ironically, the devoted women who considered the sanctity of their sex to be bound up with prohibition have lived to see women assert equal rights at the bar as elsewhere. The women folk, without doubt, have learned to drink within the last twelve years. Sharing man's foolish pleasures, they no longer have, as they did in the early years of this century, a rawly envious pleasure in despoiling them.

Social drinking, as one observes it in New York and other cities, is on the mend. It no longer is necessary, as in the early years of the Volsteadian rebellion, for a wet patriot to get drunk at every opportunity to establish his loyalty. The drinking classes have come to realize that they have not plumbed the ultimate in the way of a beverage whenever a bottle is opened.

Although drunkenness enjoyed a revived tenure of respectability during the twelve years, one might be wholly accurate in asserting that the American people have come upon more wholesome drinking habits than before. We are more likely now to demand decent drinking places, to approximate, with the help of women's fastidiousness, the civilized accompaniments of drinking which exist abroad. The café, in such communities as choose public drinking places, is almost certain to replace that harshly maligned institution, the saloon.

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Other benefits may be chalked up by social historians as a result of the era of legal deprivation. What an era! What more is to be said about a twelve years which, no doubt, will pass quickly into the lore of the land; fitting as an amazing chapter into the pattern of our ruddy annals?

What is to be said of an era which produced "speakeasy frocks," and "bargain day" in the Federal courts; battalions of snoopers abroad in the land, legal homicides by dry agents, sopping wet public dinners throughout the Republic and "the man in the green hat" filling the lockers of dry statesmen in the House and Senate office buildings?

One circumstance, which may strike the young and the forgetful as novel, deals with the amazingly supine fashion in which civilized America accepted the Eighteenth Amendment and its subsidiary works, without protest, without resentment and without hope. Not the least credible portion of this story is that fact that in January, 1920, great metropolitan wet newspapers, such as the "New York Times" and the "New York World," "played down" the inauguration of a dry era. No western European nation of consequence ever had decreed that its citizens or subjects get along without alcoholic stimulation. Here was news! A great western power, exerting its sovereignty, forbade the meanest citizen to wet his lips over a shell of lager.

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The dreary day came. It happened to be a night; a snowy January night.

New York, the entire country as well, accepted the new departure with few complaints. The opposition indeed was stunned. With isolated exceptions, all citizens believed that the Volstead act successfully would outlaw, if it did not indeed abolish social drinking. Hearty drinking men joined with Wayne B. Wheeler in applauding the new day. Gentlemen with prodigious thirsts contented themselves with lugging home a few paltry parcels of spirits. The assertions of the drys—incredible as it seems at this date—that drinking would become a lost custom, that a generation would grow up wholly alienated from alcohol, were accepted at par value. A student of prohibition phenomena must find the passive, non-resistant attitude of the wets in 1920 enlightening. The "New York Times" of January 17, 1920, reported:

"At the rails of the ordinary saloons stood a few old-timers, glad for what they could get, but for the most part the already dilapidated interiors appeared as cheerless as the snow-covered streets. Instead of passing from us in violent paroxyms, the Demon Rum lay down to a painless, peaceful, though lamented, by some, death."

A "New York World" reporter, obviously not gifted with second sight, dwelt in his chronicle of the dismal leave-taking to John Barleycorn, on the disturbing presence of a "good-looking, well-dressed girl" in a notable bar room of the period.

"The girl," he said, disapprovingly, "was an unusual sight, leaning up against a bar. Such a thing was never seen in that bar before."

The newspapers, in advertising as well as news and editorial columns, reflected the general resignation. A chewing gum manufacturer took large space to bid farewell to the cocktail. "Good-bye for keeps," the advertisement read, "It looks that way." Presently, candy makers would be urging the American father to carry home a box of sweets of a Saturday night in place of the weekend flask of rye.

But how emphatically were the prophets confounded! Taking form slowly and without benefit of organized effort, a vast block in the population undertook to nullify the law. Here stands, for students of government, one of the classic examples of mass resistance, peaceable and roundly effective, to unwanted legislation. Gandhi himself cannot point to a

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fuller expression of non-forcible will. The American colonies did not more effectually flout the distant George III. The people simply, as we review it now, would not accept bone-dry national prohibition.

Thus the change came about. Hardy souls sacrificing purse and health to whiskey "just off the boat," experimenting at the kitchen sink, booing enforcement agents; willing to lay down the last liver and light for the cause. They, in the last analysis, brought about the reversal. Their mass protest furnished a background of sentiment for the early leaders: Alfred E. Smith and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler in New York, Governor Ritchie in Maryland. Increased largely in number, they voted last month wholeheartedly for a change.

What political, sociological and emotional changes the silently resisting mass wrought. We passed from the period when only prohibitionists were regarded by the general public as respectable. We came finally to the time, within twelve years, when the reverse was true; the wets, augmented by Mrs. Charles H. Sabin and her new-style band of hope, captured the moral advantage. Racketeering, the imputed but unproved debauchery of the "younger generation" weighted the ethical argument. The economic change of front was no less remarkable. In the war years, business, large and small, unburdened by taxation, eyed prohibition favorably as a probable source of profits. The industrialist hoped that a rigid dry system would prevent his hands assuaging their miseries in drink. No more "blue Mondays" in the factory yard. The merchant observed the enormous cash intake of the retail rumsellers with envy. He was led to believe that money now spent for booze and beer would go, under the new dispensation, into shoes, furniture, groceries, etc.

The depression, as we are acutely aware, shifted the business man's self-interest. We may be certain that the business man's longing for an estimated half a billion dollars in Federal tax relief played a decisive part in the dethronement of Rollin Kirby's doleful effigy and the resurrection of Mr. Barleycorn.

The changes in drinking habits, as we may observe them in perspective now, present a fascinating vista. At first bewildered, the persevering tipplers discovered early in the reign of Volstead that drink had not been eradicated. Good citizens in New York and elsewhere were made acquainted with the chemistry of bathtub gin. Grog shops tentatively were opened in back rooms and cellars. Italian table d'hotes offered homemade wines —"You know, Tony serves a fair white wine at a dollar"—German restaurants provided indifferent beer, often needled.

Rum Row flourished and was scattered. The Bowery firms in New York dealing in bars and fixtures entered into an unexpected prosperity. We passed rapidly from the time when a citizen bearing home a gift bottle of rum kept a self-conscious eye out for the police to the brazen period wherein brewery truck drivers rolled in their contraband barrels in broad daylight. Enforcement, never prosecuted with all vigor, broke down progressively.

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The recital of the alterations in viewpoint and habit between 1920 and 1932—between the damp, badly lighted back room speakeasy and costly, secure bar rooms in New York's Fifties, elegant in chromium and geometrical modernistic trimmings—would be endless.

That is past. We are plump into a new era, which, in due time, will develop its own special problems and perplexities as did our recent brief experience with pseudo-finality. Both wets and drys were deluded in 1920. Events did not turn out as we all expected. In the light of that recent example, it would take a courageous prophet to hazard a dogmatic guarantee of the future.

The best we can say is that the question of liquor regulation—a thorn intermittently in the side of our politics since the 1840's—seems certain to be returned to the States. Which is at once an advance over the current arrangement and a harking back to the troublesome pre-prohibition days when John Barleycorn was a symbol of contention throughout the Republic.

One fact seems certain: We haven't yet settled the issue of how and when, if at all, man shall enjoy the traditional pleasures of the glass.

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Chief Woman-Elect

By Ernestine Evans

The United States has, as the result of the recent election, a new First Lady-to-be. Ernestine Evans, magazine writer and newspaper woman, pictures Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt in relation to the duties and opportunities of the Mistress of the White House.

THE APACHE INDIANS, so Grennie Goodwin had it from an old Apache scout, chose their chief this way: they always picked out the best hunter, but by the best hunter they did not mean the man who was the best shot, and they were equally uninterested in the performance of this duty in the fellow who could bring home something when the hunting was bad. They chose instead, the Indian who knew where the hunting was best for all the hunters of the tribe.

And the Apaches also chose a woman chief . . . "not exactly a woman chief," said the old scout, "but a chief woman. She had to be a woman whom other women trusted. And her business was to see that the women let the men know a good two weeks ahead of time when the food was getting scarce."

The Apaches, of course, were only Indians and Apache Indians at that, but their formula was not bad, I think. How to get a chief into the White House on any such simple record of past performance of one fundamental service, and how to get a woman in the foreground who will have the chief's ear may, or may not, according to our political lights, have been solved by the great white tribe that now has the run of the country. I venture no opinion as to whether Franklin Roosevelt will find good hunting. Maybe it takes more than a good chief well chosen to smoke venison for all in these industrial capitalist days.

The chief woman of the Apaches was designated not as the chief's wife, but as Chief Woman. Chief Woman is a good office. This country needs one, or more than one. One not interested, at least not as a first interest, in a second term for the chief. It needs as chief woman something more than a woman who will merely keep the chief amused and his domestic board orderly and festive. We need a chief woman who can make it plain "at the center," as the Russians would say, when the men have got to hustle to stave off disaster and discomfort for the hungry ones of the tribe in Detroit, or in Kansas, or even on the mean streets of the District of Columbia.

Half a dozen women who have known Eleanor Roosevelt Roosevelt in the past twenty years all agree that this is the first President's wife in not a few presidential terms who might have achieved election to something in her own right; who might give ear to the women of the country. And although just listening to other people's troubles isn't enough, it is conceivably something.

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The general public know a few salient facts about the next mistress of the White House. She was, for instance, the favorite niece of Theodore Roosevelt, and not, apparently, the favorite cousin of Alice Roosevelt Longworth. The two girls were not much alike.

Eleanor at twelve was left an orphan and went to live, first with her grandmother, and then abroad to school in England, where she was under the tutelage of an intellectual Frenchwoman, Mlle. Souvestre. She began as a little girl to read the London newspapers, and in those days there is no question that some of the best political writing in the world was to be had in London. No reader of British newspapers of that period could fail to be aware of the political atmosphere, no matter how many love, murder, and sport and discovery stories also got into the press. But more, the Frenchwoman was passionately pro-Boer as were many English citizens, who saw in the tactics of Imperial policy in South Africa the beginning of an end of "Empire." It is not to be doubted that the American child began to have opinions about war and peace, if only the reflected opinions of her teacher, if only in the awareness that even patriots could be of two opinions about wars.

The new President's wife has, in the years since, declared herself as a pacifist. But what one declares oneself as, during peacetime, has, as the records show, not so very much effect on one's war-time behavior. There is, in any case, nothing particularly profound about a speech of hers reported, in the "New York Herald Tribune," where she said "Wars come unawares. . . . And once in there is nothing to do but fight. Anything to prevent war must be done in peace." Do wars come unawares? Ask the history teachers.

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It is possible to look back at Mrs. Roosevelt's record and learn something of her experience, her public utterances, and to describe her as energetic, calm in the midst of much excitement, capable of rearing a family of five, a comely family, now frequently familiarly clustered on the news reels and in rotogravure. We know she manages without friction ten servants, and keeps order in three households, at Hyde Park, in Albany, and in New York. She has made speeches advocating trade unions for servants, though what demands of the servants she would back, if the slaveys should rise, nobody knows. I suspect she herself could live without servants, or with one. She is simple in her

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demands and adaptable in her life. She is a marvel of self discipline.

During her husband's term as governor, she has, nevertheless, commuted between Albany and New York and kept her teaching position in New York. Constant and punctual in her attendance at the school, no personal nor political engagements elsewhere have lured her from her job. Her students have been the daughters of the upper middle classes, and of the very rich, but besides lecturing on history and superintending her pupils' knowledge of the past, she has led them on excursions in New York. With her pupils she has visited Ellis Island; the girls have gone with her to see a police line-up. She has peered at a great many of our institutions. I do not know if she has been moved to see them greatly altered.

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She has a good name as a "liberal." When Stanwood Mencken tried to stampede a group of New York women whose names had been set down as sponsors for a luncheon to Countess Catherine Karolyi, charging that she had been friendly to the Communist regime in Hungary, and calling her the "Red Countess," Mrs. Roosevelt laughed. Mrs. James Gerard hastily withdrew her name; Mrs. Roosevelt as quickly gave out a public statement. "Of course I shall attend the luncheon. There is more danger in seeing red on every side than in being a little broadminded."

Those who want a liberal woman in the White House are apt to remember her disconcerting inquiry in the midst of much oratory on prosperity in 1924. "I should like to ask," she said, "whether the devastated northwest is still a part of the United States." It seemed then that Mrs. Roosevelt had that stipulated requirement for a woman chief . . . she could count the hungry and hear their cries afar off. To pay attention to the hungry, to wish to do something for them, to give public alms, recognizing the state's responsibility, that is, to be "liberal." To organize the hungry to make demands is, of course, another type of political life. Once Mrs. Roosevelt in a witty speech accused Senator Wadsworth of having a "Marie Antoinette type of mind," and some of her cohorts, those who had read a little about the French revolution, thought it was not quite the sort of thing she should even suggest.

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It is true that Mrs. Roosevelt has no small talent for the phrase, and raising slogans is one factor, an important one, in political life. She took a stand not long since with a group agitating for a fund for aged teachers. She spoke against "mental and physical starvation of teachers." She is, you see, not afraid to call starvation, starvation; and it is presumed that the editor of "Babies, Just Babies," and the critic of the long continuing Republican policies, knows this: that real milk today and every day is the only test of whether the babies are getting a square deal. She has been the mother of babies, and immediacy of action is what the governor of babies has to bring to the job. Babies don't eat words; they are not even suckled by lovely lullabies.

Looking over Mrs. Roosevelt's public utterances, I find her making excellent statements on the lowering of the tariff, talking as a consumer to a consumer, and indicating probable rises in prices to the consumer on a detailed list of articles, after the passage of the Smoot-Hawley Bill. I find her attending banquets of the Ort, which provides agricultural capital for Jews in eastern Europe. That may have been a "good politics" dinner, since so many Jewish New York voters are interesed in the Ort, or it may have been because making small farms pay has been one of her own, and her husband's, interests in New York state. I find her supporting with money and services the Consumers' League; writing sound advice on marriage, beginning with the need for a program in married life, and the need for a budget, and for awareness that two people are not one person, and asking for generosity, and good manners. A very sensible article, indeed.

I do not know that she will make the country laugh. There are those who would like a mere belle and beauty in the White House, someone to set styles in sleeves, and length of skirts. Though no lady in the White House has done this, not even the chic Alice. Mrs. Roosevelt will probably go right on wearing good tailored clothes, and rather barbaric necklaces. The newspapers report her as buying two evening dresses a year. She will probably buy more; or she may go right on buying two.

We shall presently see whether any new thing is possible for a President's wife in the White House. At New York Democratic headquarters on the night of the election, with a mob, a well dressed, noisy, mixed and milling mob, Mrs. Roosevelt was calm. Fairly calm, that is. She shook hands quietly with innumerable people, she kissed a few old friends. She refused to give an interview until her husband had spoken. Then finally she said quietly, "You can't say you are pleased at a time like this. This is something to be approached in a serious mood. It will be a great responsibility, and a serious thing to undertake."

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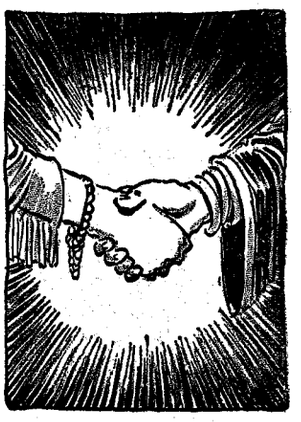
The dour observer who remarked of the "new deal," "It's the same old racket, and not even restrung," is the one I would like to discuss Presidential wives with. He would not be very hopeful that any single woman, however serious, could in the slightest affect the trend in politics. On the other hand, the Apaches have laid it down as a principle that any Chief needs a woman who can bring him news ahead of time of the problems to be met. And news of American problems Mrs. Roosevelt can certainly be depended upon to listen to. The women of the country have *her* ear. Whether what she has to tell the smiling President-elect will bring strain and the lines of intolerable responsibility into the hopeful countenance remains to be seen.



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Let's Act Our Age

By Edward Angly

The lessons which we have not learned from the depression are discussed by Edward Angly, author of "Oh Yeah?" and of "A Preface to Prosperity," which appeared in a recent issue of NEW OUTLOOK.

THE ONLY MAN in our time who ever publicly compared himself to Lincoln has learned now that you cannot fool even fifty-one per cent of the people for very long. Such wholesome knowledge the current crisis in human affairs already has hammered into the heads of many of those who rule the roosts and crow the loudest in the coops of commerce and industry. Gradually the same sound idea may sink into the consciousness of political leaders including the group which in a little while must step down from the high places by the will of a people who recently revealed a righteous anger.

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Meanwhile, as we sit around the table anticipating a new deal—and wondering how to take care of a four billion dollar deficit in the kitty—it would behoove all of us, players and kibitzers alike, to quit fooling ourselves. Only adolescents imagine that one may bluff on every hand and leave the table a winner. We Americans may always remain a gambling people, but we are no longer an adolescent people. Fifteen fruitful and frightful years have flown, or wobbled by, since we got into our first pair of long breeches, the most overgrown, and one of the most spoiled, kids the world had ever bred. We filled out rapidly after that, much too rapidly, perhaps. Great billows of fat we then mistook for muscles have since disappeared, thanks to compulsory calesthenics. These deflationary exercises weren't any fun. Yet, it seems to me, they have done us a great deal of good.

The body is grown now. Save for a not incurable weakness here and there, it seems to be fairly sound. How about the mind? Isn't it high time for us to realize that we are adults? When we were kids, full of gusto and grit, we shot marbles for keeps and won a continent. We had our fling at picking on smaller fellows who lived in the same block—Mexico and Spain, to name two and them. Growing older we ran out on the field in the last quarter of what threatened to become a scoreless tie on the Western European gridiron and promptly kicked a winning field goal. Then, with prosperity as a graduating present, we swaggered out into the world, sowed our wild oats and got roaring drunk on liquid assets that had been "cut" by poisoned credits.

The bottle of high old times seems almost empty now. We haven't yet rid ourselves of the headache it gave us. We fancied we might shake off the *katzenjammer* with pick-me-ups distilled overnight in Washington and served by a bartender who acted a bit woozy himself—a bartender who scribbled our bill on his cuff. The boys call him Uncle Sam. It may be that we shall feel still worse before we become fit again. But, on some bright tomorrow, we shall surely find ourselves tackling life with freshened vigor. There will be other bottles in our cellars then, whole cases of them, let us hope. In uncorking them at the table where the cards of the new deal are to be played, let us first assure ourselves that the contents are pure. Then, instead of bolting the stuff, let us sip in the manner of civilized adults.

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In this morning-after agony when good resolutions are in order, let us resolve, first of all, to be realists. We are not going to get rid of the headache by immediate gulping of more of the stuff that gave it to us. As realists, we might as well reconcile ourselves to the fact that we are not only land poor, but machine poor. The British and the Germans and, to a lesser degree, a few other peoples, are also machine poor. It is a strange and unprecedented plight. There is no guide to point the way out. We no longer know where we are going and we aren't even sure that we are on our way. But, facing the realities with honesty, we can be sure of this: that so long as we are machine poor, the unemployed will be with us. And until our neighbors desire to and feel themselves able to buy in an extensive manner the products of our machines, we shall surely remain machine poor. So long as we hold a high barrier against our neighbor's goods and, at the same time, try to collect from him what he borrowed, our foreign trade isn't going to increase. It is now only half what it was three years ago. It has fallen harder and further than the tumbling foreign trade of any other nation engulfed in the world wide economic war. When an armistice is signed to end that struggle—as inevitably it must be—no "war guilt" clause will be written into the peace treaty. For that we should be thankful, for if such a clause were inserted, there are many who would have the blame put upon the American Congress and the American administration which hurled into the faces of our debtors—and they are also our customers—the Smoot Hawley tariff. There, truly, was a shot heard round the world, a shot that provoked damaging fire upon us from every direction.

To change metaphors in the middle of a stream, there is no denying that a tariff is an armor. But, I submit,

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equally undeniable is the fact that one may plate a ship so heavily as to prevent it from ever steaming ahead. It is even possible to lay the armor on so weightily that the ship will sink. The world hasn't done that yet, and, of course, it isn't likely to do so until Gabriel gets the word to blow his horn. But the world has laid the armor on a bit too thick. Things have come to a pretty pass when everybody wants to be a seller and nobody wants to be a buyer. Such a fatuous system could not be made to work in the simplest, smallest village. It cannot be made to work on any larger scale, either. The quicker we accept that reality, and the sooner we strive to persuade our neighbors to talk turkey on the proposition, the better for us all. Our neighbors are not without sin in the matter, but neither did they throw the first stone

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As for the war debts, Mr. Calvin Coolidge and those who argue in his complacent manner are indisputably correct in asserting that the foreigners hired the money. But is it not equally demonstrable that the alien debtors cannot pay in full the amounts they owe on the dates and in the sums specified so long as the existing economic set-up endures?

Whether we like it or not, we shall soon be obliged to scale those debts downward. For a while the payments on the inter-governmental debts were met with gold, goods and services. After gulping down more indigestible gold than was good for us, we set the lights red against the traffic in goods. For yet awhile longer the payments continued, but they were being made then out of dollar advances which our so-called international bankers scattered over Europe as fast as they could sell bonds to a gullible public and pocket their own commissions. In their travels these dollars acquired foreign accents so thick that the homefolks mistook them for francs, sovereigns and reichmarks. In those days when we thought we were sitting on top of the world it was dollars coming home to roost that were applied on the debts, and dollars sent back home that Europe used in buying our cotton, wheat, copper, bath-tubs and chewing gum. The problem of transfer was not serious then. But at about the time we began dreaming of perpetual prosperity, which was a little more than four years ago, we stopped scattering dollars overseas. We were finding it more exhilarating to use all the cash and credit we could rake together in stock market speculation. After that, it wasn't long until the return movement of expatriate dollars slowed down.

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That we threw away much of the money like drunken sentimental uncles, both in advancing the war loans from the public purse and the private loans through Wall Street, is a fact that will provide chuckles for historians. That we still refuse to admit we were maladroit and muddle-headed, too generous one moment and too greedy another, should be no less amusing when these tough times fade into a long perspective.

Meanwhile, if we are to act our age, the hour has struck for those who represent us in Washington to take their necks out of the sand and look the debt problem squarely in the face. For fifteen years the national policy toward foreign borrowers has oscillated between playing Santa Claus one day and chanting Borah pro nobis the next. Only a Santa Claus would cancel the debts completely. Only a man ignorant of what makes the wheels go round would expect the existing agreements to be fulfilled to the last dollar and the sixty-second summer. The late George Harvey once said that we entered the World War to save our own skins. Soon we shall plunge into a debt conference from a similar motive. We shouldn't fool ourselves into thinking that the motive is more noble than that. If we do, we won't be acting our age.

When we go into that huddle we shall have made patent a fact that many of our misleading leaders still refuse to recognize—the fact that the United States of America is not a self-contained country. Those tires on your automobile, those tin cans in your pantry, the raw materials from which they were made were not produced in this country, nor can they be. Of the cotton grown in the South, America cannot consume more than half. We cannot consume all of our wheat, or corn, or copper. We are not buying enough from one another to keep our railroads out of the red. Our industrial plant has expanded so greatly that it cannot live on the home market alone. Like our farmers, it needs customers in far-away places. We aren't going to acquire the trade we need until we either start buying more foreign goods, or resume our lendings or ease up on our attempts at collections. At long last we must learn that a creditor nation in the 20th century, even if it is a green one, cannot behave as though it still were a debtor nation in the 19th century—and get away with it.

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There are not a few other experiments we are not going to get away with even if we almost go broke trying to. One of these is the biggest and most grotesque attempt in history to pull onesself up by one's boot straps. That isn't behaving as an adult. I refer to the employment of a gigantic expansion of credit as a remedy for the ills of a country which is suffering from credit expansion. Are we to become sober by swilling the stuff that inebriated us? The label on the bottle has been changed. The stuff being passed around now comes from a government distillery. A great deal of it is marked Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The more money the R. F. C. lends to institutions, public and private, to States and to corporations already unable to pay their previous debts, the more I wonder whether the day isn't coming when we shall wake up and discover that still another $3,000,000,000 has gone down the sink into which disappeared the half a billion poured out for the Farm Board and hundreds of other millions. Somebody is going to have to foot the bill some day for all these hypodermic injections prescribed by the doctors in Washington. Some of the patients may look like "good pay," but I have a notion that most of them will turn out to be charity cases. In that event, it will be Brother Taxpayer who will be called upon to pay the

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doctor's fee. If we must repudiate eventually, why not now when there is less to repudiate? Is the little taxpayer of tomorrow to pay for the expensive blunders of the big businessman of today? If so, we are certainly going to give the next generation one swell something to remember us by.

As a matter of fact, while a few folk talk of a new deal and others still sing of a moon of plenty coming over the mountain tomorrow evening, the country is actually rotten with repudiations—the repudiations of obligations made by men who were too greedy, of men who were too ambitious and too acquisitive, of men who were too proud to draw in their horns and too dumb to come in out of the rain. Let us swallow those pills, too, swallow them now and get it over with. Let us face the bitter facts with the moral courage of grown-ups and cease childish indulgence in make-believe. When millions live for seven fat years beyond their means, multitudes are bound to go broke, to default. The number of lean years that follow will not be limited to merely three or four. Who but fools, stupid demagogues or first-class liars would keep chirping that prosperity is just around the corner when along the whole range of debtors, from one-mule farmers to great corporations, from backwoods road districts to State and national governments, the picture is black with insolvencies, foreclosures, and defaults, or red with deficits? However most of them may get out of debt, it won't be by borrowing. Why make believe that it will be so?

Why, indeed, make believe that we are the richest, greatest and highest-toned people on earth when stupidity, cupidity and incompetence have been so rampant among us as to wreck a third of our banks? Why boast of our individual independence, our high standard of living, when the one has disappeared and the other is on the skids in several million homes? Why go on adding story after story to a debt structure built upon the sands? Already, economists tell us, fixed charges on debt have risen to half the national income. If that keeps on, whatever sort of new deal we give ourselves it is sure that the deal we will give posterity will be a raw one. So raw, indeed, that the taxpayer of tomorrow, when he gets through paying his taxes, may have to use squirrel dogs for money.

Right now, in the fourth winter of our hang-over, squirrel dogs are being used for money in many a district where wheat and cotton and wages fall and fall, and only debts and taxes rise. Before me is a recent issue of a daily newspaper published in a town in the Southwest. Where want ads and installment buying bait used to be, there is a column under the head-line "Let's Swap." Here are a few of its items:

WILL SWAP one Nesco four-burner oil stove and oven in first class condition or one Victor Victrola with 36 records in A-1 condition for good fresh milk cow.

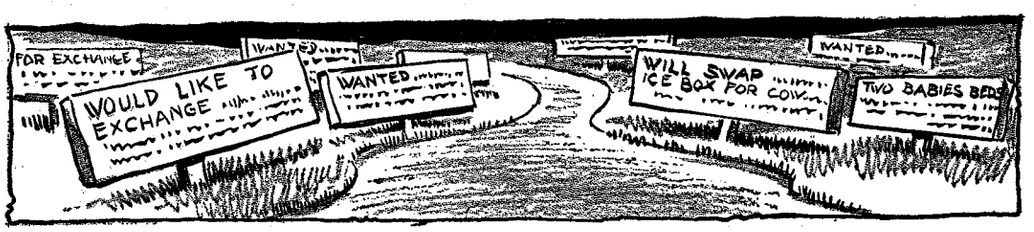
WANT TO SWAP good refrigerator, 75-pound side icer, for cow.

TWO BABY BEDS or one baby buggy for gas heaters.

WOULD LIKE to swap Jersey bull 18 months old for wood, feed, potatoes, syrup or most anything you have.

WILL EXCHANGE bird puppy, setter or pointer, for brick, gravel or sink and bath-room fixtures.

Those folk are evidently trying to live within their means even when they haven't any. To do likewise is the only way out for us all—as a people and as a nation. While eager to sit in on a new deal, we must realize that we cannot go on forever buying blue chips with I. O. U.'s. If we do, we won't be acting our age.



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People Without Money

By Joanna C. Colcord

Is a new economic process being devised by the jobless of America? This is the question which Joanna C. Colcord, director of the charity organization for the Russell Sage Foundation, raises in an account of the workings of the unemployed associations.

SOMETHING NEW AND PROMISING is happening in America today. A spirit which has seemed dead and buried since pioneer days is achieving rebirth. All over this country people out of work are banding themselves together in coöperative groups to meet their own and one another's needs by their own efforts. The only commodity they have to offer—the labor of their hands—is being exchanged directly, without the intervention of money for the basic wants of food, fuel, clothing and shelter. This new experiment has been christened "self-help."

Has the self-help movement any significance aside from its temporary use as a means of providing subsistence for jobless people? Are there larger economic questions involved in its possible tie-up with the cooperative movement? In its use of direct barter methods and the substitution of credit tokens for currency, is there the possible beginning of a new economic process?

Some of the founders of the movement would answer "Yes" to all these questions. "What will become of your organization when times get better and the members secure jobs?" one of them was asked. "To begin with," was the answer, "we do not grant your premise. We think this is the end of the capitalist system, and our league is ready to lead the way into a new era. But if you are right, and there is another period of improvement before the end arrives, we want to use the opportunity now to make our members conscious of the fact that, even if they are re-employed, there is no security for them under the present order.

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"If we can convince them of this, they will stay with us even so, and help keep our program continuously in operation."

Other intellectuals in the self-help movement are convinced that a new system for the interchange of commodities and services has been developed, which will continue outside of, and not within, the existing financial structure, meeting wants which the present system has failed to supply, and prepared, when necessary, to take over the operation of society.

Dr. Frank D. Graham, of Princeton University, holds a somewhat different view. In his thought-provoking pamphlet, "The Abolition of Unemployment," in which he urges a national plan to set the unemployed at work producing for each other's consumption, he says: "Such organization should, and could, make neither profits nor losses but would simply pay its own way. The production of the otherwise unemployed would interfere not at all with the production of those who, in any case, would be at work. A man without income can consume only at the bounty of someone else, and the latter, to make the gift, must forego something of what he could otherwise himself have consumed. Production by the otherwise unemployed for each other's needs would, therefore, have no effect whatever in narrowing the market for the goods produced by the workers fortunate enough to retain a regular job. On the contrary, so far as the otherwise unemployed were working in plants which would, under present conditions, be much below capacity, markets would be distinctly enlarged by reason of the lower costs, and prices, which would apply to all production in such plants."

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Dr. Graham's scheme, however, does not contemplate a permanent parallel to the present industrial system. "As soon as ordinary business could secure the adjustments necessary to permit the emergence of profits on an enlarged output," he says, "it should, and would, draw workers from the emergency organization, and the output of the latter would shrink toward zero. This is an entirely desirable consummation, though a skeleton organization should always be maintained ready for expansion when the need arises."

But regardless of what the final outcome of the self-help movement which has been developed in this crisis by the people without money may become, here today are folk on the extreme verge of personal disaster, the best they have to offer of no value to trade and industry, with their life's plans come to naught, yet going with courage and vigor about the business of building up a new and strange existence, and plucking a precarious happiness from the undertaking. "As I see it," one man said, "it's just as if we'd all been shipwrecked on a desert island. We *must* work together, and salvage all we can."

The self-helpers use the unlovely word—"chiselling"—to express the little-relished necessity they are under at times of seeking gifts, or loans, for which no return in labor readily can be made. "But it isn't at all like when you have to ask for things for yourself," one of them told me. "It's altogether different when you're asking for your group and can at least offer work in return."

Let us look for a moment at some of the self-help plans in actual operation. How did they begin, and out of what roots did they spring?

Organized self-help was preceded by a period in which

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individual self-help was the thing chiefly stressed. Communities felt, and rightly so, that the "new unemployed" should be given a chance to work for what they needed; and since the winter of 1931, enormous work-relief projects have been developed and carried on, giving employment for limited periods to hundreds of thousands. In only a few of these has the variety of work offered been sufficiently diversified to permit the assignment of people to what they could do best; and we have had in many places the spectacle of qualified librarians sewing shirts, and graduate engineers raking leaves and digging ditches. But out-of-work people have grasped eagerly at whatever offered to do, whether it was for a workman's cash wages, or a relief recipient's basket of groceries.

Devices for helping the individual unemployed man to help himself have ranged all the way from the late unlamented epidemic of apple-selling, up to the gold-mining enterprises of some of the Rocky Mountain states. In these, the state colleges, or the bureaus of mines offered short courses in "panning" gold, furnished inexpensive outfits, and sent thousands of jobless people out to spend a healthful summer in the hills, salvaging from the streams gold which could not be recovered commercially.

A Massachusetts city opened the municipal gravel pits to the unemployed, furnishing gunny-sacks which they might fill and sell to passing motorists or to householders for use when icy streets demanded this safeguard. The State Conservation Department of New York allowed people designated by a neighboring work relief bureau to enter its game reserves and pick ferns, which they sold to wholesale florists.

Communities even discovered plans of self-help to the community itself, which did not involve the use of money! As an example of raising oneself by ones own boot-straps, consider the little town of Anaheim in Southern California, where relief funds were exhausted early in the last winter.

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Under a plan proposed by one of its citizens, it proceeded to put jobless heads of families to work, paying them in scrip of the denomination of one dollar, which was issued by the town treasurer. The majority of the merchants in the town had previously agreed to accept this scrip at face value, and in accepting it, to attach on the back a stamp worth four cents, which they purchased from the town treasurer. They then used the scrip to discharge their own obligations within the limits of the town, and each person accepting it as payment placed another four-cent stamp on the back until the scrip bore twenty-five such stamps, when it was, of course, worth a real dollar, and could be redeemed in cash at the office of the town treasurer.

In all these plans, ingenious and useful as they were, the people who benefited by them did not participate in the planning. They were "being done good to" in the time-honored way. But with increasing frequency during the past year, news has come in from the four quarters of the continent which indicates that the unemployed workers are determined to take a hand themselves, and sit in at the game with their own cards.

Attempts on the part of unemployed individuals to find new ways of earning money within the existing system would be likely to be succeeded, as a next step, by group attempts to do the same thing. From points as far apart as New York City and the little town of Rosburg, Wash., come reports of organized groups of the unemployed actively competing for business contracts in the open market.

A group of printers out of work in New York City have incorporated as the Correlated Graphic Industries, taking over in 1931, by arrangement with the owner and mortgagee, a small bankrupt printing shop. They secure what printing jobs they can on a competitive basis, and divide the proceeds.

The Borough of Ramsay, New Jersey, was to award a contract last August for laying a mile of water-mains; and the Ramsay Unemployed Association with about 100 members, made up of accountants, salesmen, former Wall street clerks, school teachers and mechanics, asked permission to bid on the contract. The lowest commercial bidder voluntarily withdrew in favor of the jobless organization; other business men, knowing the leaders of the group and anxious to further their enterprise, became responsible for bonding and insurance. Hand tools, trucks and some technical supervision were lent to the group without cost, and materials were supplied by the Borough. The men arranged among themselves to accept a small "staggered" wage while the work was in progress, and to declare a dividend when the final settlement was made. The work was completed satisfactorily, in about a month, the men netting better than fifty cents an hour for the time worked.

It is probable that other contracts will be given them on the same basis. "This method of work," writes the County Supervisor of Roads, "seems to yield a greater efficiency than the ordinary type of relief work, as each man is, in effect, a partner—and the uncertainty of how much money the job will yield makes each man look out for the best interests of all."

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Reports have come from Utah, which, if they are all to be credited, tell of astounding developments which seem to have crossed the border-line of an emergency self-relief effort, and to be in a fair way of developing into a new system of distribution, participated in by the whole community, and tending to parallel, if not displace the methods hitherto in use. Few printed accounts of what has been going on in Utah are available, but according to such accounts as exist, the scheme began with a carload of surplus potatoes, secured late last winter by a group of unemployed people in Salt Lake City. From that small beginning has grown the Natural Development Association, a cooperative business, industrial and social enterprise. To quote from its founders, "Each member has his or her respective job, vocation, or industry to manage and be responsible for. The return from all labors and activities are circulated for the benefit, growth and development of all.

"The Natural Development Association is organized

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under the laws of the State of Utah, with aims and purposes to take in all the activities of life, putting into operation a system of distribution. We take the materials, commodities and services. We distribute these equitably to all members of the association according to their needs, regardless of position, station or birth. Each member must contribute more to the organization than he withdraws.

"There has been gradual, steady growth and increased activities. Commodities and services exchanged to date have consisted mostly of surpluses that otherwise would have been lost. The regular business of members continues in the business world as before, and the Association works through them. When we want industries, instead of building from the ground up, we go out and convert the owner or manager of the industry, which is already established.

"We have materials and services divided into three classes:—Class A—(Services of) barbers, carpenters, doctors, dentists, mechanics, laborers, instructors and executives—which are exchanged without money on a debit and credit system. Class B—Materials and commodities which are exchanged in the same way as "A." Class C—Commodities which cannot be exchanged within the group for which we must pay cash such as electricity, gas, telephone service and taxes.

"We have organized and operated our Cooperative with headquarters in Salt Lake City. Connections are made with local, established industries. We also have members located on farms in nearby farming and dairy districts."

The Association publishes the "Progressive Independent." From its columns and other sources one learns that the organization operates by a system of credit coupons issued for work done, which are now accepted regularly by stores and corporations, and which are cleared through the banks. On the first day after its central store was opened, last March, it did $445 worth of business in coupons, handling only $1.45 in small change. In August, $4,000 worth of coupons are said to have passed through the store in one day. Supplies are purchased from dealers and farmers with coupons, and these seem, by all accounts, to pass from hand to hand as a subsidiary currency. Token money is, of course, no novelty in Utah, the business of the community in its separatist Mormon days having been conducted largely by the use of barter and credit tokens.

The Association is reported to have made favorable transportation arrangements with the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, to be operating a shoe factory, canneries, a fruit drier, a gas and oil refinery; and to have under construction a tannery. Branches have been established throughout the state; and all of this new social organization, it is reported, grew out of the giving and free distribution of a carload of potatoes.

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The workless people of Seattle have formed a slightly different type of organization, not to compete in the market for jobs, but to make jobs for themselves by supplying each others' needs.

The Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle was founded in July, 1931, by graduates of the Labor College. In its organization, a distinct effort was made to avoid the single floater and those permanently dislodged from industry, and to concentrate on "citizens who work hard, raise families, buy homes and pay taxes, and who now find themselves caught in the wreckage of a disordered system, their homes and savings gone, facing in terror and bewilderment a future which seems hopeless."

Its purposes were: to give this newly dislodged middle-class group of men and women a background of economic theory; to secure the adoption of a program of work relief in the city and county; and to develop a plan of "self-help"—the term being coined by the founders of the league. Locals were organized and meeting places were found in churches and public buildings. Attendance at weekly meetings was compulsory, as was also a minimum of sixteen hours a week of such work as could be found or assigned, but there were no dues. In return for work, the members received issues of such food available at the commissaries opened by each local in buildings secured rent-free.

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In this self-help program, gangs of men were sent out in borrowed trucks to cut firewood on stumped-over land which abounds on the outskirts of Seattle. Vegetables and fruit contributed by friendly farmers were collected, brought in, and divided. Members who were fishermen brought their catch to the central commissary. Marketmen and provision dealers contributed goods left over at the end of the day; packing houses gave meat, sometimes free, sometimes in return for work. Much public interest was taken in the movement, and furniture and machinery were freely lent. As clothing began to be sent in, tailor shops and cobbling shops, manned by unemployed members familiar with those trades, were added to the equipment of the locals. Barber shops, and even one beauty-parlor to help keep up the appearance of girls who were looking for work were developed; and an unemployed pharmacist dispensed simple remedies contributed by wholesale drug firms. A carload of wheat was contributed, and a bakery got under way. Some abandoned coal mines on the outskirts were taken over and worked, with the owners' permission, by miner members; a crew of automobile mechanics installed in a vacant garage kept in order the cars and trucks belonging to members or borrowed from friends. The membership in this new self-help society of the Northwest has increased from a few hundred up to between forty and fifty thousand.

The story has been told elsewhere how, when food supplies came to an end, the Mayor's Commission under the far-sighted leadership of a prominent citizen, became the intermediary between the League and the County Commissioners, and secured subsidies of food to keep the commissaries in operation. In spite of great changes in the political situation, and in the leadership of the League itself, the twenty-odd locals have remained active, the commissaries have been continued,

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though some of them have been taken over and are operated by the county authorities, and the self-help program was, at last accounts, still going forward.

In its management, the League is exceedingly democratic. Each local is represented on a central council, but each has wide latitude in how its program shall be conducted. Elections of committee chairmen are at the pleasure of the local; criticism at the weekly meetings is frank and vigorous and the "recall" is freely exercised. This has resulted in jolting to the top a hitherto unsuspected amount of leadership and executive ability among the unemployed.

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Other Washington cities—Tacoma, Spokane, Bellingham, Yakima, Walla Walla—heard of the plan and organized similar leagues. Last spring, a conference of representatives of these Leagues in Tacoma resulted in the formation of a State League, with the purpose of furthering a legislative program especially featuring unemployment insurance.

News of the Washington experiment later spread through the country and Unemployed Citizens' Leagues on similar lines began to spring up elsewhere. One was organized during the summer of 1932 in Portland, Oregon, and the movement is now underway in other cities in that state. A pamphlet, "Back to Work Through Self-Help Societies," was issued by the Portland League, which gives directions for organizing, and a sample constitution and by-laws.

Leagues have been reported in Alameda, Calif.; Portland, Ore.; Denver, Cheyenne, Houston, Texas, and Omaha. In the latter city, men receiving relief from the public and private agencies formed themselves into the Unemployed Married Men's Council, while their wives formed a Women's Auxiliary. The Community Chest, which was friendly to the enterprise, secured the use of a vacant school building as headquarters, and an active self-help program was inaugurated, including barbering, tailoring, shoe repairing and the canning of surplus vegetables. A radio station allowed the Council time for broadcasting, and local interest thus aroused has resulted in offers of jobs, for wages or on a barter basis, and an employment service has been added. The Council, the membership of which at last accounts was about 1,500, has worked harmoniously with the social agencies, and joined with them in successful efforts to secure the appropriation of more adequate relief funds by the county authorities.

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In California, the rapid extension during the last six months of barter exchanges seems to have been the result of a fortunate accident rather than a planned development with group thinking behind it. It began with one man in the town of Compton, Los Angeles County, who took a gunny sack over his shoulder one day last March, and went to a neighboring ranch owner, offering to gather a crop which the owner could not afford to market, in return for a share of the produce. He brought back enough to divide with his neighbors, and the movement began to spread. A warehouseman offered the loan of a truck and some space in his building, a loose organization came into existence and soon the first cooperative exchange was in operation. Other towns in Los Angeles County took up the idea. Soon there were thirty-two such units, which together comprise the Unemployed Coöperative Relief Association of the county. Other agricultural counties joined the movement, and toward the end of September, delegates from seven of these counties, meeting in Fresno, formed a state-wide association, to coöperate with the State Food Administration in facilitating exchanges between counties.

"Swapping" between exchanges is becoming a prominent feature of the plan. Northern California's potatoes are exchanged for Southern California's citrus fruits. San Pedro sends iced fish to the inland counties in return for vegetables. Gasoline for trucks and boats is supplied by the county governments. Red Cross wheat is ground and baked without a cent of money changing hands. One association has taken over a closed-down macaroni factory and manufactures part of the flour into food-pastes. The association organized in Santa Monica secured the entire crop of a large apricot ranch, sending its members out to pick and dry the fruit. Many of the exchanges have developed restaurants where the workers can get cooked meals, and clothing and shoe repair departments.

In the Los Angeles Coöperative Exchange all services must be arranged through offices of the Exchange, and both parties must be members. When a member has a commodity to offer he brings it to the Exchange, and a valuation is put upon it and he is paid in credit. The credits any member gets are used in exchange for such other goods and services as he needs. Credits are good for 90 per cent of the purchase price, the other 10 per cent must be paid in money, except for credits paid for food brought to the Exchange or given in payment of full time work for the Exchange. The Exchange handles all kinds of professional services, labor and commodities.

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The Community Center in Ventura, California, operates a similar plan, adding to it a citywide gardening project and a restaurant where members may buy cooked meals with credit coupons.

All who receive supplies are pledged to resell none of them, for the Californian coöperators are very clear in their own minds that this is only an emergency measure to bring food to mouths that need it, and that nothing they do must be allowed to interfere with the recovery of regular trade. There are no theories back of this project looking to a new society; and its leaders expect to close down the project promptly whenever the emergency shall be considered over.

In the meantime, however, the barter movement seems to double over night. No one can predict what proportion of the population will be fed this winter without the aid of regular trade channels, and the permanent social significance of the movement if such is

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to eventuate, is a question which must be left to the future.

East of the Mississippi the self-help movement has generally been stimulated or fostered by liberal social and religious bodies. The most successful of these experiments have been in the Middle West.

In Dayton, the Council of Social Agencies last spring assigned the secretary of one of its divisions to the task of organizing the unemployed along self-help lines. Starting from small beginnings, Dayton has now six "Production Units," with about four hundred families participating in the program. Each unit has a building, variously secured, to house its activities. Some of the properties are loaned, the rent of one is paid by interested friends, and one unit is building out of discarded wooden paving blocks its own headquarters, which will be used as a shoe factory. Several types of production are housed under one roof, but each unit has a main industry. In one there is a bakery, where 1,200 loaves are baked daily; another manufactures garments from new goods, using borrowed machinery. Gardening, canning and rabbit-raising are major industries, and one unit has resources in view to start a 100-acre farm, for truck gardening, hog farming and chicken raising.

It has been possible to secure gifts or loans of all the machinery used. The problem of securing raw materials has been solved in an interesting way. The city government buys them at wholesale, and issues them on requisition to the units. After the goods are manufactured, a sufficient amount to pay for the materials used is returned to the city to be given out through its commissary; and the remainder, representing the net profit of the enterprise, is "traded about" between the several units.

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While it is evident that considerable organizing skill has gone into this enterprise from other than the unemployed group itself, much scope is allowed for self-government within the units, and any initiative and enterprise from within the group finds ample means of expression.

In Pittsburgh, the Welfare Federation has organized a city-wide system of Community Councils, with central organization, which, as one of its many projects, is developing in three districts a plan known as Coöperative Aid, modeled on that of Seattle.

Minneapolis has the Organized Unemployed, an association launched during the past six months by the pastor of a Methodist Episcopal church, which aims to reach middle class people on the verge of dependency. Foodstuffs are secured from farmers, either free, or in exchange for a variety of services including repairs to farm buildings and machinery. The produce thus secured is either canned or sold fresh to the workers at a central store in an abandoned school building, where clothing and shoes are also repaired and sold. The workers are paid in scrip, which they exchange for goods at the store.

This plan has been criticised because there is no means of determining, first, whether the people giving employment cannot afford to pay cash through regular commercial channels, or, second, whether the workers availing themselves of jobs are unable to maintain themselves without such aid. The danger, inherent in all barter exchange systems, that goods in return for services may not approximate a fair wage-rate for the work done, is also pointed out.

The Minneapolis plan differs from others described in that it did not grow from small beginnings, but was launched as a full-fledged, city-wide organization, with ward committees and central machinery. In the view of some observers, it has promised more than it was able to perform; and some reorganization in its methods will probably become necessary.

In one district of Philadelphia last July, a socialist group inaugurated a so-called Council of the Unemployed along the lines of the Seattle organization. It now claims 2,000 members, and while the city's relief program was suspended during the past summer, it conducted an active campaign to secure surplus foodstuffs, scouring the neighboring agricultural districts with borrowed trucks, and supplying food to 700 families a week.

Organizers for the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action have developed an Unemployed Citizens' League in Paterson, N. J., among the unemployed silk workers. Its self-help program has included felling dead trees for firewood, and some informal exchange of services for surplus foodstuffs among farmers who sell their goods at the city market. About $1,500 worth of goods was secured and distributed during July and August, not all paid for in labor.

The self-help movement has not made headway without opposition from other organizations of the unemployed. Particularly bitter has been the fight waged against it by the Unemployed Councils, as the local Communist organizations are called. These groups take the position that any worker whom industry cannot employ on a wage basis must be supported outright by the community, and they thus oppose work-relief, self-help, or any other device which means work at other than a full and fixed wage-rate. The trades unions, however, have usually been found in full sympathy with self-help activities.

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In New York City, an organization known as the Emergency Exchange Association has been incorporated to attempt to put into operation essentially the plan outlined by Dr. Graham. It proposes "to apply the principles of management to unemployment relief, to provide a means of making relief funds more effective, to sustain the morale of the unemployed, and to assure them some degree of security until such time as they re-enter the ranks of normal employment," by organizing mutual exchanges, beginning in New York City, but intended to ultimately furnish a nationwide set-up. Through these exchanges "the unemployed will be able to use their labor and abilities to produce, buy and distribute goods and agricultural products and to exchange services for and with each other. The management and technical services necessary to organize and guide these activities will be enlisted for the local and central exchanges."

The scheme would be expected to become eventually self-supporting; but until it was, competition on the open market would be strictly avoided.

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The Irish Land Annuities

By Sean T. O'Kelly
Vice-President,
Irish Free State

Tariff war now rages between England and the Irish Free State. The causes of this war, the Irish Land Annuities, are discussed by Sean T. O'Kelly, who in addition to being Vice-President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State is also Minister for Local Government and Public Health.

INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES are commonplaces of international politics, and as a rule, unless the issues are of a far-reaching kind, rarely arouse more than a mild academic interest outside the countries immediately involved. It is rather curious notwithstanding the advances which mankind has made and is continuing to make in almost every other direction that no progress, or comparatively no progress, has been made in the evolution of a true international polity, or even in devising an all-embracing scheme of international justice capable of providing a tribunal to which any member of the family of nations, small or great, could apply as by right and be fully assured of receiving a just, final and binding decision in a dispute with any other member of the family, great or small.

That the Irish Free State is more than academically interested in this matter must be apparent to anyone who has followed the trend of her present dispute with Great Britain. Here is a dispute concerning matters of legal right which had it occurred between individuals could be speedily and finally resolved by the Courts of Justice of their country. Being a dispute between States of the British Commonwealth there is no international court before which one can cite the other, and the result is that the relations between the States have steadily deteriorated since the issue was first raised. At the moment an acute tariff war is proceeding between the two countries and much economic damage is being inflicted on both sides.

To gain a comprehensive view of the dispute it is necessary briefly to review the history of the financial relations between the two countries.

The Irish Free State which is comprised of twenty-six out of the thirty-two counties of Ireland owes its existence to a revolutionary movement whose spiritual force triumphed over the infinitely greater material forces of its adversary. As a result a strictly limited freedom was conceded by Great Britain in 1921, and the document embodying the agreement arrived at between the two countries is officially known as "The Articles of Agreement for a Treaty." These "Articles of Agreement," besides providing for the setting up of the Irish Free State, provided also for the apportionment of the liabilities (which were great) of the then existing United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland between the two States, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State.

Provision was made for an apportionment of the assets which were both numerous and valuable: the Irish Free State share to be treated as a set-off against liability for the Public Debt. The Irish Free State's right to present counter-claims in respect of the past relations between Ireland and Great Britain was expressly acknowledged.

When it is remembered that the legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland had endured for 121 years, that Great Britain entered into it comparatively poor and emerged immensely rich and that Ireland entered it comparatively rich and emerged poor, the natural expectation would be that in the apportionment of liabilities Great Britain would be generous and that there would be an equal generosity displayed in the sharing of the assets. That, however, is not what occurred. Actually during the ten years of its existence the Free State has made to Great Britain payments totalling more than £50,000,000. This tribute at the rate of £5,000,000 a year comprises as its principal item the Irish Land Purchase Annuities amounting to approximately £3,000,000 a year and it constitutes a burden, taking relative taxable capacities into account, equivalent to an annual payment of £330,000,000 by Great Britain, or ten times the burden placed on her by her debt settlement with the United States. It is relatively far in excess of the reparations burden which Germany was recently proved unable to pay.

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Obviously here is a case calling for urgent revision and the Free State claims such revision. The Free State considers that she has an incontrovertible legal and moral right to the retention of these monies.

It is necessary for me to digress a little at this point for the purpose of explaining exactly what are the Irish Land Purchase Annuities which are the main subject of the present controversy. During the centuries-long occupation of Ireland by England the commonest method adopted by England of rewarding adventurers who helped in the work of conquest, either in arms or by advancing money, was that of giving them extensive grants of land confiscated from the conquered Irish. The result of this was that by the end of the 17th Century almost the whole soil of Ireland was owned by landlords, alien in race and creed from the mass of the people. These landlords became mostly "absentee," that is they lived either in England or on the

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Continent of Europe, but chiefly in England, and appointed resident "agents" to manage their estates in Ireland. They let the land to the farmers usually at such exorbitant rents that the latter rarely succeeded in wresting from the soil anything more than a most miserable subsistence for themselves and their families.

Any increase in the productivity of the land, or any improvements made as a result of the labors of the farmers were accompanied by a corresponding increase in the amount of rent demanded by the landlord, most of the tenants being "tenants at will," that is, subject to eviction at any time at the whim of the landlord. As the bulk of the wealth derived from the soil was spent abroad by the "absentee" landlords, a gradual impoverishment of the country set in, especially after the legislative Union with England in the year 1800. The result: the lot of the tenant farmers grew worse each year.

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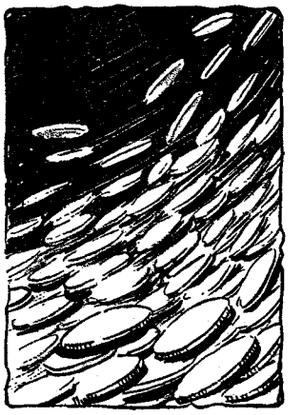
This naturally led to agrarian unrest, and in the latter part of the 19th Century developed almost into open warfare. At length, the British Government felt that it must intervene, and from the year 1870 on there was a series of Land Acts which had for their object the buying out of the landlords and the vesting of the ownership of the land in the tenant farmers.

The methods adopted in the different Acts to effect this agrarian revolution varied as years went on. All the later Acts, and these are the only ones directly involved in the Anglo-Irish dispute, enabled the Government to borrow money by issuing Land Stock and to buy out the landlords, paying them in some cases with stock and in other cases with cash. Whether they paid with stock or cash, however, the Government's borrowing was by the creation of stock. Having bought out the landlords, the Government proceeded to sell the land to the tenants, the price fixed to be paid to the Government in the form of terminable annuities spread over long periods of years. Thus were created the Land Purchase Annuities. It is important to note that there were three separate and distinct transactions: (a) the borrowing of the money by the Government from the Stockholders; (b) the purchase of the land by the Government from the landlords; and, (c) the sale of the land by the Government to the tenant farmers. At no point was there any contact or privity between the persons who lent the money to the Government and the tenant farmers who bought the land from the Government.

It is now necessary to explain what was the legal position with regard to the ownership of these annuities at the time (December 6, 1921) that the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty were signed. In the year 1920 the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland passed an act called the Government of Ireland Act, 1920. This act provided for the partition of Ireland into two parts to be known as Southern and Northern Ireland and for the setting up of two subordinate parliaments to exercise very limited powers of government within the two areas. This act, the financial provisions of which came into full legal force on August 2, 1921, made certain arrangements for the financing of the two Parliaments, and as part of these arrangements it provided: First, that Land Purchase annuities both in Southern and Northern Ireland should be collected by the Governments of Southern and Northern Ireland and paid into their respective Exchequers; and second that a sum equal to the amount of the annuities should be provided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom for the service of Land Stock.



It is thus apparent that when the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty were signed Southern Ireland (which is coterminous with the Free State) and Northern Ireland were the legal owners of the annuities and the United Kingdom Parliament alone was charged with the obligation of providing for the service of Land Stock. Northern Ireland continues without question to retain the annuities arising in that area in its Exchequer ever since.

I have already explained how the question of the sharing of the assets of United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland between the succession States of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Free State was dealt with in the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty.

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The question of the Land Purchase Annuities was unquestionable at the time of signature and was not referred to at all. With the exception of such Government-owned buildings as were rooted in its soil, no share of the assets has actually been received by the Free State, and it still remains to be seen whether that attitude will be altered. So far there has been no indication that it will. As regards the Land Purchase Annuities, however, something more sinister still occurred. "The Articles of Agreement" were given legal effect on the British side by an Act of Parliament called the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, which was passed on March 31, 1922. That act conferred power to make Orders in Council transferring to the Provisional Government of the Free State the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties. An Order in Council under the Act was made on the following day, April 1, 1922, transferring such powers and machinery but also doing something else which the Act gave it no power to do. It ordered: "All sums collected by the Provisional Government after the day of transfer on account of purchase annuities payable in respect of land situated in Southern Ireland, including any existing arrears thereof shall be paid into their Exchequer." Also, "Subject to any arrangements which may be made under this Order there shall from time to time be paid out of the Exchequer of the Provisional Government into the Irish Land Purchase Fund, or Account, or other appropriate fund or account, such sums as may after the day of transfer be required to discharge the liabilities of those funds and accounts in respect of interest on stock or advances issued or made in connection with land purchase in Southern Ireland and to meet the corresponding sinking fund charges."

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Here we have the beginning of Great Britain's attempt to establish ownership of the Land Purchase Annuities. The payments directed by the Order in Council were made, and thus in the initial year of its existence the Free State, under this head, was deprived of a sum of approximately £3,000,000 to which her right was undoubted.

There is no evidence that the law was examined on the Free State side at the time and it will be readily recognized that a new State in the first year of its existence might easily be stampeded into silently acquiescing in an arrangement which in the midst of other urgent preoccupations it had no opportunity to examine closely. Great Britain seems to have taken full advantage of this state of affairs.

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The Order in Council was provisional and operated for twelve months only, pending the setting up of the constituted Government of the Free State. In February, 1923, Mr. Cosgrave, the then President of the Free State Executive Council, visited London and while there was induced to sign an agreement undertaking to pay over to Great Britain each year a sum equal to the amount accruing due for Land Purchase Annuities, whether collected or not, and also undertaking to pay over other sums amounting in the aggregate to upwards of another £2,000,000 annually. This agreement was dated February 12, 1923, and was not divulged either to the people or the Parliament of the Irish Free State until the month of April this year. It was not ratified by Parliament, either in Great Britain or the Irish Free State, and its very existence was unsuspected by the present Government of the Free State until it was cited by Mr. Thomas, British Secretary for the Dominions, as the document on which Great Britain mainly relied in her claim to ownership of the annuities when the issue was raised by Mr. de Valera in correspondence with the British Government shortly after he assumed office as President in the Spring of this year.

On the British side the document was signed only by a Treasury official and neither he nor Mr. Cosgrave professed to sign on behalf of their respective Governments. During a recent debate in the House of Commons in London, Mr. Thomas, the Dominions Secretary, was asked if the agreement was ratified. He replied that it was, because at a General Election held in the Free State after it was signed Mr. Cosgrave who signed it was returned to power. In other words, an agreement signed by an Irish Minister and a British official purporting to surrender several millions of pounds which belonged to the Free State was ratified by the Irish people at a General Election though they never saw the document till nine years later. This is novel constitutional doctrine for an English Minister to advance and needless to say is not accepted by the Government of the Free State.

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In the correspondence between the two governments in April of this year, Mr. Thomas, referring mainly to this agreement (the existence of which had not yet been revealed) claimed payment of the annuities on the grounds that the Free State Government was bound by "the most formal and explicit undertakings," the breach of which "would be a manifest violation of an engagement binding in law and in honor on the Irish Free State in exactly the same way as the Treaty itself is binding." Such a proposition in respect of such a document is manifestly untenable.

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In reply Mr. de Valera, still unaware of the existence of the document, stated "the British Government can rest assured that any just and lawful claims by Great Britain, or any other creditor of the Irish Free State, will be scrupulously honored by its Government." In the ensuing correspondence the agreement was brought to light, and the British Government has stood for its validity as an international instrument. Mr. Cosgrave, who signed the document, stated recently that the agreement had nothing to do with the obligation to pay, and that if that obligation had not been there previously he ought not to have signed it. He also made it clear that he signed the agreement in the belief that he was merely giving his assent to a *method* of payment of the Land Annuities, not to the payment itself and that, in his opinion, the legal obligation to pay already existed. The fact that no such legal obligation did in fact exist forces Mr. Thomas to rely on this agreement which, apart from its lack of validity as an international instrument, was really signed under a misconception by Mr. Cosgrave.

In the course of the inter-governmental correspondence Mr. Thomas also refers to another unratified agreement known as the "Heads of Ultimate Financial Settlement" dated March 19, 1926, and cites it as a confirming document. In so far, however, as it deals with the Land Purchase Annuities this document merely does so to the extent of exempting them from the deduction of Free State Income Tax before payment, it having been the practice to make such deduction under the Secret Agreement of February 12, 1923. It is therefore really irrelevant to the main question at issue, though its citation by Mr. Thomas indicates the paucity of his arguments and the weakness of the British case.

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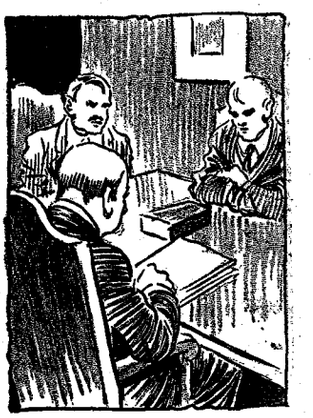
I should mention here that it has been contended in some quarters that Section 26 of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, which assigns the annuities to Southern Ireland was not actually in force when the treaty was signed. It is not necessary to elaborate the arguments for and against, since the Free State Government is advised by the highest legal authority that the contention is unsustainable and that the section was unquestionably in full force and effect on the vital date and in any event the British Government has advanced no such argument in the correspondence with the Free State Government which has been published.



There is, however, another aspect of the matter which in itself, and independently of the Govern-

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ment of Ireland Act, 1920, established the justice of the Free State claim. Article 5 of the "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty," as already mentioned, deals with the apportionment of the liabilities of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland between the two succession States. It states that "The Irish Free State shall assume liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom as existing at the date hereof, and towards the payment of war pensions as existing at that date, in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set off or counterclaim, the amount of such sums being determined in default of agreement by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British Empire."

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In December, 1925, following a conference between the British and Free State Governments in London on the question of the boundary between the Free State and Northern Ireland a formal agreement was entered into, Article 2 of which provided that "The Irish Free State is hereby released from the obligation under Article 5 of the said Articles of Agreement to assume the liability therein mentioned."

This Agreement was solemnly ratified by the Parliaments of both countries, and it is clear from the terms of the section quoted that the Free State was freed for ever from making any contributions towards the service of the Public Debt of the former United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. I have already described how the money for Land Purchase was raised by that Government, that is, by the creation of stock. It has been argued that the stock does not form portion of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom. The argument is without force. The object for which the Stock was created is immaterial. The sole question is "Did the State borrow the money?" It did, and, therefore, there can be no doubt about its being a State Debt, portion of the Public Debt from the service of which the Free State was released. The term "Public Debt" may be presumed to include all State liabilities. It is not a term of art. It is wider in scope than National Debt and was probably used advisedly in the first instance in the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty for the purpose of bringing in any liabilities which could not technically be classed as National Debt so as to make the Free State responsible for as comprehensive an amount as possible. It is certainly clear that under the terms of the Agreement of 1925, the Free State, apart from the argument based on the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, was under no obligation to pay over the Land Purchase Annuities for the purpose of meeting the dividends and sinking fund payments on Land Stock. Even if Public Debt merely connoted National Debt it is interesting to point out that up until December, 1922, the Return of British National Debt included Stock among the contingent liabilities of the British State.

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To return briefly to the question of the assets of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, it is scarcely necessary to say that the Free State has an undoubted legal and equitable right to a share of these assets. As already pointed out they were accumulated chiefly during the 121 years of union between the two countries and belong to each in proportion just as the liabilities did. The Free State has never formally or informally waived that claim. When the time for the discussion of a real ultimate financial settlement comes, if she is asked to waive her claim, she can only be expected to do so for a consideration based on the value of the assets.

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But until such a settlement is arrived at the claim remains valid. No evaluation of the assets has so far been made, but the figure will certainly run into many millions of pounds. It is felt in the Free State that the time has arrived for a final settlement of all outstanding financial questions between the two countries; and the Free State Government has manifested the utmost willingness to have the questions arbitrated on by an international tribunal. Great Britain has taken up a definite stand against such a tribunal, and insists on a tribunal whose personnel shall be drawn from the British Commonwealth of Nations. There the matter rests. The Free State Government will agree to no such limitation on the grounds that freedom of choice is of the very essence of arbitration. In the meantime the relations between Great Britain and the Free State are steadily deteriorating. A tariff war initiated by Great Britain is in full swing and immense damage is being unnecessarily done to the trade of the two countries.

It may be asked why when enacting the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, Great Britain handed over the ownership of the land annuities to the two Irish Parliaments. There were two good and sufficient reasons for her doing so. A Royal Commission, of which Mr. Childers, a former British Chancellor of the Exchequer was Chairman, was appointed in the year 1894 to inquire into the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland. This Commission, appointed by the British Government, could not be suspected of undue bias in favor of Ireland. Nevertheless, after a most minute inquiry it reported that for many years Ireland had been heavily overtaxed and the draft report prepared by the Chairman before he died pointed out that, on the figures for the latest year available, Ireland had paid two and three-quarter million pounds more than her share of taxation.

Mr. Lloyd George stated in 1920 that the Land Annuities were intended under the Government of Ireland Act to be a "free gift" to Ireland, and it was generally understood at the time compensation for overtaxation was one of the reasons of the "gift." The other reason arose out of the state of Ireland at the time. There was a revolutionary war in full swing and resistance to the British Government was widespread throughout the land. It will be readily understood

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that in these circumstances the possibility of Great Britain collecting the annuities from the individual tenant farmers was remote. In other words Great Britain relinquished all claim to monies of which she saw no likelihood of being able to get possession. As the sequel proved it was a case of "reculer pour mieux sauter" so far as the Free State portion of the annuities was concerned, and the fact that the "gift" had been given legal effect to did not prevent Great Britain from claiming it.

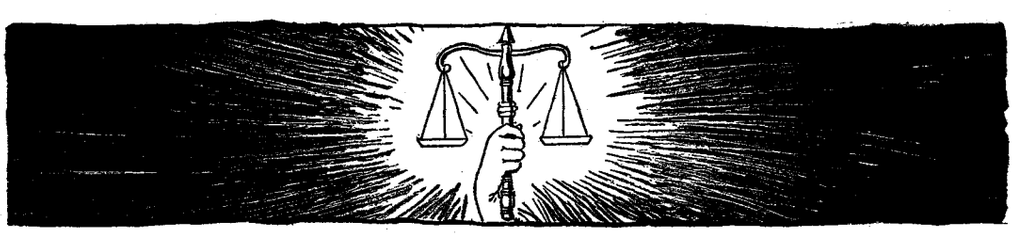
Great Britain's claim to the ownership of the other monies in dispute is based as weakly as her claim to the Land Annuities. It is unnecessary to give details here as it would involve the elaboration of arguments very similar in type to those which govern the case of the land annuities.

An attempt has been made in the course of the dispute to extend its scope so as to bring in other matters not germane to the issue, and to make the issue depend on a satisfactory settlement of these. For instance Sir Thomas Inskip, the British Attorney General, speaking on August 4 last stated: "In some quarters there is a disposition to regard the question of the land annuities as the only bone of contention between Mr. de Valera and ourselves. I wish I could take this view. If it was only a question of money, the British people are not ungenerous. It is not money that stands in the way of peace. There is something bigger and deeper that lies beneath this miserable wrangling over the land annuities. Does Mr. de Valera want to be a partner in the Empire, or is he pursuing the will-of-the-wisp of a republic? There is no reason to suppose that the Irish people—especially the farmers—are blind to the solid advantages of Dominion status. The value of the British connection is being brought home to them now in their experience of the bitter fruits of Mr. de Valera's election programme. If there could be a clear and sincere declaration of the desired intention of the Irish Free State to stay within the Empire on the basis of their constitutional position and in a spirit of loyal partnership, no annuities or debts could cloud the prospect. We are entitled to ask, after all that has happened, whether this declaration is to be forthcoming."

Here we have a clear challenge to the Free State Government to give an undertaking that the Free State will remain within the British Commonwealth in return for the abandonment of the British claims to the Land Annuities and other monies.

The Free State Government takes the view that the financial question should be settled on its merits and that the question of the Free State's future political status is for determination by the people in their own absolute right. They also hold that neither they nor any future Irish Government could or should give any undertaking in a matter of the kind until the Irish people have declared their will. In any event the British have no right to ask for such an undertaking so long as they continue contrary to the wishes of the Irish people to hold six of the Ulster Counties politically separated from the rest of the country.

For the proper determination of the question the whole of Ireland (comprising the twenty-six counties of the Free State and the six counties of Northern Ireland) must declare its will. The partition of the country carried out for British political purposes constitutes an outrage on the body politic for which it is difficult to find a modern parallel. The people of America expended untold blood and treasure in the Civil War to prevent the secession of the Southern States. Irish feeling for the integrity of the motherland and for the restoration to Ireland of the historic territories of Ulster is no less strong, and it is difficult to see how there can ever be perfect understanding and goodwill between Great Britain and Ireland until the evil of partition is undone. Great Britain has it in her power to bring about lasting peace and friendship between the two countries granted but the will to do it. Each country is the other's nearest neighbor and there are many close ties joining them. It is regrettable that there should be discord and distrust between them, and the Free State is most anxious that all causes of such discord and distrust should be removed. The most obvious way of achieving this is the removal of all semblance of domination by the one over the other, and of all legitimate grievances financial and political of the one against the other. When that is done there will be nothing to prevent the growth between the two countries of harmonious relations based on mutual understanding and mutual respect for the rights and interests of both.



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COLLEGE YOUTH DISCUSSES ITSELF

View from a Classroom Window

By Warren E. Thompson
University of Chicago, '33

The effect of the depression on the American undergraduate is discussed by Warren E. Thompson, University of Chicago '33, editor of the Daily Maroon, in the second article of a series in which college youth discusses itself.

URBAN LIFE—hurried, strained, materialistic, sometimes gaunt and unpleasant in its social and economic aspects—is today surrounding many of the large universities of America and giving to their students a conception of the problems of modern society and an insight into the failures of modern economics which no previous generation of college students ever has obtained.

We of the great city colleges are going to school in the midst of a depression, and are graduating into the world with that depression still affecting all of society.

For three years we in the urban universities have been taught not only by the professors of our institutions, but we have been learning and thinking under the rigid discipline of a major economic debacle which has permeated every corner of the city in which we study—an economic emergency which has created before our eyes acute social problems, extreme conditions of privation and social injustice, challenging opportunities for study and research in laboratories provided by the city's neighborhoods, and ample reason for extreme criticism and cynicism upon the part of students who are obtaining an education under these urban conditions.

What has this depression done to us—the current college generation?

What do we contemplate doing about it—this world-wide epidemic of social and economic sickness?

No picture of what the undergraduate of America is thinking today would be truly representative if it did not take cognizance of the effect of this current depression upon his attitudes and plans for the future. And no study of this current depression would be complete if it did not take into consideration the fact that it will be the younger generation that determines the real significance of this depression.

Consider the strange and paradoxical situation under which we of the college world are today pursuing an education. Thousands of us have been busily preparing for several years to fill positions of responsibility in the world—yet on every side of our cloistered universities we see countless unemployed, experienced, older men who cannot find starting positions of any kind. For several years, as college students, we have been eagerly learning of civilization's methodology and systems, of business practices and techniques, of social standards and ideals, of political principles and practices. Now, in the past three years, outside the sheltered environments of our campii, we are observing these methodologies and systems failing to meet the demands made upon them. We see these business practices and techniques no longer furnishing adequate employment to great numbers of men who must be so employed; we see these social standards and ideals widely violated in actual practice as the acquisitive instinct of mankind dominates his every activity; we see these political principles and practices, which we are earnestly studying, distorted to benefit and protect a few at the exploitation and expense of the many.

These strange phenomena we are observing from the vantage point of the classroom and the laboratory, at the same time that we are told to study and learn still more of these principles and techniques—techniques of a kind which today's economic developments and social conditions are proving inadequate and unsound. More and more of us, it would seem, are being trained and instructed to adopt such unsound principles and to fill such positions in the world, while on every side of our university communities are city neighborhoods teeming with men of more advanced age and proven ability vainly seeking work in the same lines of endeavor which we are studying.

What's the use?

On the face of it, the college man today may well reply there evidently is none. We were told that college was the certain way to success. But now we have listened to the tales of those who graduated a year ago and are discovering that some of our college friends are

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unemployed and others are growing hungry.

Yet the amazing fact remains that today the registration of America's colleges and universities, after three years of this depression, has dropped but five per cent, and the greatest proportion of the decline has been among the wealthier students.

Confronted by every reason to lose faith in the values of a college education, to lose confidence in this social system organized and directed by an older generation, American youth today seems to feel that there is still reason and merit in making preparation for participation in the activities of the community and the nation, chaotic as they may be. Modern youth seems to feel there is some use, after all.

It is that conviction, manifested by our very presence in colleges and universities, which causes the writer to feel that the real significance of this depression will be determined by youth. It will be our task to see that society profits by the experience it is suffering. It will only be through our changed attitudes and increased social intelligence—both of which must differ materially from those of the prevailing adult generation—that this depression will not have visited society in vain.

But first let us look at what this depression has done to the college generation. Half of us have had to go to work. According to the National Bureau of Education, fifty per cent of the men students and one-third of the women students in the United States are earning a major portion of their expenses while studying in universities and colleges. The students of this country are collectively earning at the present time fifty million dollars a year.

That feat in itself is of significance. What it indicates is even more important. Young people who are too frequently criticized for lacking a sense of responsibility and for over-emphasizing the care-free pleasures of life are today sufficiently and sincerely interested in an education to work while acquiring it. Many of us are undergoing extreme hardships and rigid personal discipline to make possible this realization of the very most from our personal endowments.

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This depression has caused the young American generation to cease looking upon a college education merely as the mark of a gentleman. Such gentlemen today are out of work, or their fathers are having difficulty in providing monthly allowances for them. With circumstances making attendance at college difficult for a great many, with every reason to condemn the inadequacies of the educational machinery of the country to prevent such social catastrophies as we are experiencing, the young people of this country nevertheless are deciding today that with so much to be done a college education is to be valued and is worth working to obtain—if for no other reason than to have a basis from which to begin in attacking the failures of the social machine as youth perceives them.

But this depression has done more to the college student than merely to make him so appreciate the values of a college education that he will work to obtain it. It has, more than any other single factor, revealed to him that the teachings of an older generation may have something radically wrong with them.

We have observed a great deal of debunking since this depression began. Our professors are no longer telling us that the world is a finished product, completely perfected. Too long has this been their tendency as academic instruction stressed the achievements and the tenets of the past. On every side, younger generations of recent years have been given to understand that it would be wise to conform to the principles and the methods of their elders—for these were considered the true principles and the best possible methods. We were told that education was only a matter of memorizing the knowledge which had already been discovered by our fathers.

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Today we know that to do so would be a fatal mistake The three years just passed have certainly indicated to the younger group that the world's knowledge rests upon a flimsy basis, at best. We know now that governmental procedures are far from perfect and that there is much to be done if they are to be made adequate and just. We know that our social system, rather than to be revered and its tenets memorized, should be renovated and its principles re-written. We know that science has not exhausted its fields of research and that civilization has far to go if it is to approach perfection.

These things the contemporary upheaval in social tranquillity has shown to youth. These things are the inviting problems and the challenging situations which entice the younger generation of Americans to obtain a college education today in spite of whatever great difficulties confront many of them in so doing.

We want and seek the necessary fundamental tools which will enable us to secure new doctrines, new methods, new social and political principles to replace those of the present generation which circumstances have obviously proved wrong. It is this task of realignment and readjustment that youth wishes to assume. We seek more sound principles, more undiscovered wonders of science, more truths from philosophy, feeling that only a beginning has been made.

The depression has shown us that all these things must be done—by youth. The challenge of them draws us with great force into a world growing more and more difficult for our elders to enjoy. We see that perfection in that world is still to be achieved, that it is still quite distant from the milestone of civilization at which we find society pausing today.

Youth is daily growing more convinced that the age-old propaganda in behalf of the *status quo* is not to be trusted. This social upheaval of the past months has demonstrated that fact undeniably. Youth is eager to attack the jobs that must be done again in the building of a planned economic, social, and political order. And youth hopes to do the work more correctly than it has been done before.

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Can any other explanation be found for thousands of the country's young people devoting a major share of their lives at tremendous expense and personal sacrifice in preparation for this assumption of social responsibilities? Can there be any other answer to a situation where the sons of the wealthy are postponing their college educations while fathers readjust family budgets, but the sons of the middle classes and the poor of America increase in numbers at every academic institution in the country—raising the proportion of the students who work while in college to more than fifty per cent?

So much for the effect of the depression upon the college student of today. It is in that effect that there can be seen the answer to the writer's second thesis: the real significance of this depression lies in the hands of the present students in America.

If this overproduction of goods, which now tends to pauperize those connected with such production, is to be diverted to provide ample necessities for all, it will be because a new generation will have adopted some of the features of a planned economy, and some of the *ideals* of Socialism, if not its methods.

The depression of the 1930's, with its great weakening of the social structure, is providing its own remedy in the challenge it has issued to youth and which youth has answered, and will continue to answer more and more as the political and business responsibilities of the world are assumed by the new generation.

It is a generation which is training itself at great cost of personal effort and initiative during a period of curtailed financial resources available for education. It is a generation that is living in the urban cities of America and which can see from its classroom perspective the tragic waste, the unfortunate mismanagement, the apparent weaknesses, of the social structure it is inheriting.

It is a generation which will not be sotted in political tradition, nor immersed in business enterprises whose existence would be threatened by social change. It will not be a generation whose men and women have long since been dominated and submerged by personal desires.

What is the basis for these predictions?

Young people today are being treated to a vision of society in one of its weaker, unsuccessful periods. We are catching this glimpse at a time when we are forming political and social ideals. We are not being ushered into the social and economic affairs of this country at a time when these affairs are functioning properly and when there is a layer of prosperous velvet covering its roughness and its fallacies. We are entering it, studying it, for the first time, during a period when it is fundamentally ill. We are entering it therefore with a critical point of view unlike that of any other generation of young people which has assumed control of the reins.

Youth has learned much from this depression.

Youth alone will adequately and sincerely attack the fundamental conditions which have created it.

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Economic War Reports

Compiled by Edward H. Collins

American Sector

The national election was fraught with quite as deep economic as political significance. In the first place, the settlement of the political issue proved, as it was predestined to prove, the signal for the reopening of the question of the inter-allied debts. In the second place, the decisive majority given to the Democratic party has been accepted almost without question as a sweeping mandate for prohibition reform, with the possibilities for a completely new approach to the budget problem that such a development implies. In the third place, the outcome suggests the possibility that the United States may take a more whole-hearted part in the coming World Economic Conference than would have been possible under Republican auspices. The invitation to the conference, when received at Washington on July 28, out of respect for the delicacy of the Administration's position, was extended "on the understanding that the questions of reparations, of debts, and of specific tariff rates will be excluded.." Whether it is literally true, as Joseph Avenol, secretary-general-elect of the League of Nations recently declared, that the problems to come before this conference are "so grave as to make success indispensable" may be open to question; few will deny, however, that it holds enormous possibilities for the improvement of world financial and economic conditions.

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Latin American Sector

With both meat and wheat prices sinking to levels still lower than before, the outlook for Argentina has taken in the last month a grave turn for the worse. In a few weeks the Argentine harvest begins, and unless prices rally before the new crop comes on the market, there is serious question whether the sale of Argentine produce in the coming season will provide that great country with enough foreign exchange to meet its external debt service. Hitherto Argentina has succeeded in carrying its burden of debt despite the ravages of the depression, and it has been the constant hope of those following South American affairs closely that Argentine Government credit could emerge unscathed from the present world crisis, so as to be a rallying center for South American recovery. It must be recognized that from this standpoint the latest turn in the world markets for agricultural produce is decidedly disquieting.

As the smoke of the recent Brazilian rebellion clears away, advices from that empire of vast natural resources reveal a picture staggering to the imagination of huge financial deficits, paper money inflation, and a rising glut of coffee supplies. Probably no other country presents a more perfect laboratory picture of the great economic paradox of our time—limitless natural wealth, yoked to financial bankruptcy. The world consumes each year about 22,000,000 bags of coffee of 132 pounds each, of which some 15,000,000 are Brazilian. And now a bountiful Providence gives Brazil another bumper crop, burying that country under accumulated stocks which are expected to reach 40,000,000 bags!

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French Front

No country was more zealous than France in insisting early this year on a sound treasury policy as the price of leaving bank deposits in this country. Apprehensive lest the United States should not balance its budget, France withdrew practically all its funds. Now France is faced with an 8,000,000,000 franc budget deficit, half of which will be financed, not by economies and increased taxation, but by loans. In next year's budget no provision has been made for resuming debt payments to the United States. Foreign trade is much lower, but exports have declined more than imports. In the first nine months exports were 38 per cent below the 1931 total, while imports were 34 per cent less. Currently imports and exports are running below pre-war figures. The increasingly adverse trade position is perhaps responsible for France's greater willingness to trade with foreign nations, as indicated in the administration's decision to abandon the quota system on imports. "We will," declares Julien Durand, Minister of Commerce, "help the sales of countries who will help ours." Unemployment is greater than at the beginning of any winter since the war. At the end of October 249,727 were on the national dole, compared with 51,054 a year ago. To cut unemployment the government revealed on November 10 a public works scheme calling for expenditure of $283,073,300, half in 1933 and half in 1934.

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Italian Sector

Italy still is feeling the financial strain of the depression less than most countries. The budget deficit through September, including the first three months of the fiscal year, totals 1,090,000,000 lire, or 171,000,000 lire more than in the preceding year. But the cash position of the treasury is strong, with 2,515,000,000 lire on deposit with the Bank of Italy. Unemployment is increasing seasonally, but the prospect is for a smaller total than the 1,150,000 a year ago. The Bank of Italy keeps on building up its gold and foreign exchange reserves, reflecting the vast improvement in the country's foreign trade position in recent years, and interest rates have been lowered. The import surplus in the first nine months was 1,319,983,868 lire, against 1,580,834,857 last year. September yielded an export surplus of 19,251,729 lire, and after taking into account invisible items it ap-

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pears that Italy's balance of foreign dealings is favorable for the first time since the war. The wheat crop falls only 4,000,000 bushels short of equaling domestic consumption. This smaller dependence on foreign wheat has contributed notably to the country's improving trade position. Italy and Germany have reached an agreement to abolish the defensive measures against German exchange restrictions set up by the former in September. Special import taxes have been imposed on French goods.

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German Front

In the United States, agriculture complains bitterly because industry is protected at the expense of the farmer; in Germany there is much muttering on the part of those who feel that agriculture is receiving too much protection. The import duties on a score of German farm products, which have provoked hostility abroad, are now worrying industrialists at home. The latter are apprehensive lest a rise in the cost of living will bring agitation for a restoration of the recent 30 per cent wage reductions. As a result of the coddling of German agriculture and mineral industries, the "Deutsche Vokswirt" declares, Germans are paying "three times the world price for wheat, four times the world sugar price, and five times the world fuel price." Germany's internal trade position has been improving recently, the Bureau of Statistics' index of production for September showing a rise of 4 per cent over seasonal expectations, while bankruptcies in October, at 457, were only one-third as numerous as a year ago. The banking position, too, continues strong, with circulation as of November 7 710,000,000 marks below a year previous and the gold reserve ratio at 26.8, against the year's low of 22.5 at the end of July. The foreign trade figures are less encouraging. The favorable balance in October was but 84,000,000 marks, against 383,000,000 in the same month in 1931. To cover service on her foreign debts Germany should have shown a favorable balance at the end of September of 1,200,000,000 marks; actually it was 847,000,000.

British Front

British effort is now directed toward the achieving of two goals as a means of improving the nation's lot. First, attempts are being made to alleviate the debt burden, as indicated by the fresh appeal to this country for governmental debt revision and, internally, by the mammoth conversion schemes; and, second, betterment of the trade position is being sought in ratification of the Ottawa agreements and through tolerance of a further break in sterling to a new low for the year below $3.30. The latest step in the conversion operations is the giving of notice that £114,000,000 of 5 per cent bonds will be redeemed on February 1. The average cost of long term British credit is rapidly approaching the 3 per cent level, with the increase in the price of government bonds in the last year amounting to 25.6 per cent. By a majority of 416 to 68 the Ottawa tariff agreements passed their third and final reading in the House of Commons. But while freer trade is being planned with the rest of the Empire the import duties on Irish live cattle shipped to England have been doubled and the duties on Irish pork, poultry and dairy products increased 50 per cent as a further step in the economic war between Britain and Ireland. The strike of 200,000 British cotton spinning operatives has been ended. During October the registered unemployed decreased 111,005. Wholesale prices declined 1 per cent in October, but the cost of living of working class families is slightly higher. The foreign trade figures are better, October imports totaling £60,828,064 and exports, including re-exports, £34,132,715. As compared with October a year ago imports were off £20,000,000 and exports only £4,000,000.

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Lesser Europe

Holland and Sweden contribute favorable developments, the former reporting in October sales of new bonds totaling 126,900,000 florins, the best showing of the year, and the latter improvement in its trade balance. Sweden's visible import surplus in the first eight months totaled 165,800,000 kronor, against 225,700,000 a year ago. Sweden announces continuance of the gold standard suspension until March 1. The circle of defaults on foreign debts among Southeastern European nations has been widened to include Yogoslavia, which failed to provide service on $45,000,000 of bonds marketed in this country. Hungary has reached an agreement with American and British standstill creditors, and Austria, which is in process of lifting its severe exchange restrictions, is negotiating a new standstill agreement. The Rumanian leu and Yugoslav dinar have fallen below parity, with further loans from their political godfather, France, no longer forthcoming, leaving only the Czechoslovak crown at parity in Southeastern Europe.

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Japanese Sector

Will Japan be able to stay the downward flight of the yen? As this is written the problem looms as a very serious one. The yen, whose parity before Japan departed from the gold standard at the end of 1931, was practically 50 cents, has fallen, as this is written 60 per cent, or to around 20 cents. The Minister of Finance is reported to be considering a revision of the "flight of capital" law to prevent speculative selling of the currency, but what is more urgently needed, obviously, is a drastic overhauling of Government finances. Japan has thus far avoided the currency inflation that many looked for as a result of the law permitting the emission of 1,000,000,000 yen by the Bank of Japan. The note issue remains virtually where it was a year ago, at around 1,100,000,000 yen. On the other hand, Governmental expenditures have been far heavier than anticipated a few months ago. The Minseito Government, which went out of office last December proposed to balance its 1,470,000,000 yen budget through a bond issue of 132,000,000 yen. The new Government, however, is now planning on a budget for 1933-1934 of 2,235,000,000 yen, involving borrowing in the huge amount of 905,000,000. Expenditures for the army and navy, which have been doubled, will account for roughly 1,000,000,000 yen in the new budget.

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To See or Not to See

By Cy Caldwell

The Dark Hours

Play of the Passion by Don Marquis. Produced by Lodewick Vroom at the New Amsterdam Theatre.

See Hebrews XIII-8

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The Late Christopher Bean

Tip-top comedy of New England life naturalized by Sidney Howard from the French of Rene Fauchois. Presented by Gilbert Miller at Henry Miller's Theatre

Natural as life and thoroughly at ease in parts that might have been written especially for them, Pauline Lord, Walter Connolly, Beulah Bondi, William Lawson and the rest of the cast present New York with a thoroughly satisfying and charming evening of high good humor. It concerns the sudden discovery that impoverished and unrecognized artist Christopher Bean, who had died ten years before in the home of Dr. Haggett, was a genius whose pictures (a dozen and a half of which he had left in the doctor's home) were worth thousands and thousands of dollars. And not a word more to spoil your enjoyment by revealing any of the hilarious situations of this delightful little play which you mustn't miss. It's as homely and easy, as comfortable and soothing as a pair of old house slippers. Under the surface it is a pungent comment on the character of Calvin Coolidge's neighbors, and as such is strongly recommended to that worthy man if he can bring himself to part with the price of admission.

Earl Carroll Vanities ●

Produced by Earl Carroll at the Broadway Theatre

Ten years ago Mr. Carroll came to a certain definite conclusion. He concluded that many people liked beautiful girls, blaring tunes, dancing of all kinds, gorgeous scenery, abbreviated or no costumes, and smut. He was right on all counts, let the higher minded deny it though they may. He took the old Columbia and Mutual Wheel Burlesque idea, elaborated it, glorified it, and to-day or any old day the Earl of Broadway can out-Minsky the Minsky Brothers in all departments. This tenth elaboration of his original thesis is a swell show of its kind, with hardly a line that's fit to print.

Of course, Mr. Carroll would be the first to deny that his life's work has been laid on such a venial foundation. But the Vanities speak, in fact shout and leer, for themselves. They thumb their noses at all of the decencies, and New York audiences find them satisfyingly vulgar. Mr. Carroll, for all his Barnumesque showmanship and artistic yearnings, remains burlesque in a dress suit.

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Singapore

Melodrama by Robert Keith. Produced by John Henry Mears at the Forty-eighth Street Theatre

Pausing briefly on its way to well merited oblivion, we have (or possibly had) another of those affairs of the Malay Straits with stagey Englishmen in absolutely spotless white uniforms and pith helmets. Of course there is the comedy Chinese servant, the faithful native girl, and the ignoble bride of the trusting young English employee of the Sultan of Selernerak. This lady, an old flame of the Sultan's, persuades him to have his black cobra sting her husband, whose demise would leave her happily free to marry the Sultan. Much to her surprise and consternation, however, the cobra nipped not the husband or even the playwright, but herself. The snake was excellent but he had practically no support.

Dinner at Eight

A play by George S. Kaufman and Edna Ferber presented by Sam H. Harris at the Music Box

In this splendidly written and perfectly acted production the fashionable hostess sits down at the telephone to invite to dinner an eligible group to meet Lord and Lady Ferncliffe, arriving from London that day, whom she has invited by radio. And then, in ten humorous exciting or tragic but always entertaining scenes, we are given a series of revealing dramas in the lives of the guests and the servants. We move from boudoir to business office, from hotel room to kitchen, from a view of society and business folk to a view of those who serve; and in our trip we learn what is entirely unknown to the lady who has brought all these interesting and amazing people together. We watch seduction, conspiracy, blackmail, suicide; and we have a whale of a good time doing it. The play ends rather up in the air, which evidently was the intention, for that is where all of the characters, except the suicide, actually are.

Dinner At Eight is an extraordinarily fine piece of work and is strongly recommended. Constance Collier, as the old stage favorite is delightful. Conway Tearle as the down-and-out cinema idol would be perfect if he would die with somewhat less charging about. And Ann Andrews, Malcolm Duncan, Paul Harvey, Samuel Levene, Marguerite Churchill, and Judith Wood play their parts with understanding and skill. Livingston Platt's settings are perfectly attuned to the ironical note of the play.

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Carry Nation

Dialogic biography in fifteen scenes of the patron saint of the Anti-Saloon League, by Frank McGrath. Produced by Arthur J. Beckhard at the Biltmore Theatre

Admirably portrayed by Esther Dale, mad Carry Nation, the very essence of her, goes marching bravely on. Uncouth and ignorant, the ugly, pudgy old fanatic that only righteous, unhumorous Kansas could have produced, lives again in all her bigotry and violence, all her crazy religious zeal, all her ridiculous, annoying, meddling destructiveness. She is the perfect emblem of the prohibition movement, combining as she does the blissful ignorance of the truly uncivilized with the exhibitionism of the mediocre and the dull struggling for notice. And yet, in Miss Dale's unforgettable characterization, as in her own pathetic, frustrated life, the pestiferous old female achieves, toward the last, a certain touching dignity to which the drab movement she mothered will never attain. Weak and ill in her sixty-fourth year and soon to die, she is still battling on toward her absurd goal when the curtain falls. As a rare bit of American history Carry Nation is well worth seeing; as a play it is not, for it is not a play.

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Magic Night

English screen musical comedy released by United Artists

When the solid English get up from their roast beef and brussels sprouts to tackle a frothy musical Viennese farce, the result of the unequal contest may be described as Anglo-Hungarian goulash with music, but no meat. Those over twelve years old are advised to stay at home; those of twelve or under are advised to save their money for lollipops.

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Dangerous Corner

Mild melodrama by J. B. Priestley. Produced by Harry Moses at the Empire Theatre

An imported stage talkie at which the audience arrives eighteen months too late, for all of the original drama had been played and locked away in the players' memories for a year and a half It concerned the demise of one Martin. However, at Mr. Priestley's behest they let some inkling of it slip out; one word leads to another, and soon we are in the midst of a dragging, undramatical post-mortem on what might have been a pretty interesting affair if we actually could have seen it with some sort of rear-vision device. If, for example, a clever cinema director is allowed to use his mind on this thing and to show the original tragedy unfolding in a series of flash-backs, the result should be satisfactory. As it sits now, this "intellectual melodrama" is precisely that; it's all in the mind and none of it passes before the eyes. Of course, on the characters who sit and talk and talk and talk there is the effect of this glimpse into the past, and that is drama of a sort; but a very weak and dawdling sort, indeed. Drama should be seen; here it is merely mulled over.

Mary Servoss, Jean Dixon, Stanley Ridges, Colin Keith-Johnston, Cecil Holm, Barbara Robbins, and Jane Wheatley wrestle mightily with this infrequently interesting talk-fest which may be summed up as a chatty night at the morgue.

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Mademoiselle

A play by Jacques Deval adapted from the French by Grace George. Produced by William A. Brady at the Playhouse

Farce and tragedy are adroitly, if rather incongruously, blended in Mademoiselle, an effectively sardonic comment on the lives of parents so caught up in the whirl of business and society that they have no time to guard or instruct their children. A. E. Matthews is the busy, scurrying father and Alice Brady the rushing socialite mother of the young girl (Peggy Conklin) who spends two acts worrying about her pregnancy and threatening suicide, and in the last act is very gay because she has been delivered secretly without her bustling, talkative parents suspecting that she is even grown up. For this happy outcome thanks are due Mademoiselle, somberly portrayed by Grace George. An old maid, very hard and bitter against men, Mademoiselle always has wanted a child. Well, here's one for her, and quite welcome!

We leave the family as we found them, all but the daughter happily unaware of the possible tragedy that skidded past them while they were too rushed to notice it. Their home the father likens to a railroad station where everyone is waiting for a different train; and in the last act he collapsed me by refusing his daughter a cigarette with the remark, "There are some things you mustn't know about yet." A witty satire and a good one, albeit two acts in which a young girl worries over her pregnancy I found not a little depressing in a farce. The scenery didn't help me any, either.

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The Good Earth

A play by Owen and Donald Davis, dramatized from Pearl S. Buck's novel. Presented by the Theatre Guild

The Good Earth whittled expertly to a mere planetoid in a well-staged and adequately cast production, allowing that nobody but a Chinaman can really look like a Chinaman. Alla Nazimova as O-Lan and Claude Rains as Wang Lung enter perfectly into the spirit of their parts. So do Sydney Greenstreet as the uncle and Henry Travers as the father of Wang. But, after all, these characters on the stage, admirable as they are, cannot be the characters of the novel. Nor can the play project against Lee Simonson's effective scenery more than a few splashes of the color that enriches the novel. In short, a valiant attempt has been made to do the impossible.

The Good Earth as a play is less the story of Wang and the earth than it is the tragedy of O-Lan. As such it is a slow-moving recital of the grim life and travail of the peasant woman, climaxing in her death.

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The Silent House

The Shuberts' revival of the Brandon-Pickett hokum-horror drammer of 1928. *At the Ambassador Theatre*

Mercifully cloistered during the past four years in that other noiseless mansion, Cain's Warehouse, this preposterous thriller again potters about paralytically and even takes on an asthmatic touch of burlesque in its old age.

Trouble in Paradise

Paramount

A delightfully deft little comedy done in the brilliant manner that evidently has been copyrighted by Ernst Lubitsch, because nobody else seems able to use it—not that they haven't tried. "Tell them the old, old story," says Paramount, handing Mr. Lubitsch a thin and feeble yarn that nobody else could make anything out of, and—presto!—out of his hat Mr. Lubitsch produces a bushel of entertainment. Of course, he hasn't worked all alone; he has esjecially capable assistants, among whom are Miriam Hopkins, Kay Francis, Herbert Marshall, Edward Everett Horton, an expert camera man, and a designer of scenes who can turn out such an amazing perfume factory that you can almost smell the perfume. But giving full credit to all of these, the honors to the master of screen light comedy, Ernst Lubitsch.

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Rackety Rax

Universal

This rickety wreck of Joel Sayre's pungent satirical story pictures the expending of a tremendous amount of misdirected muscular energy resulting in a rough-house slap-stick comedy that is mildly amusing in spots, not the least funny of which is one of Hollywood's best examples of miscasting. Mr. Victor McLaglen, as the fighting Irishman "Knucks" McGlain, gives a perfect characterization of Victor McLaglen, English accent and all. Miss Greta Nissen, as McGlain's rowdy sweetheart, remains charmingly and consistently Greta Nissen. And Allan Dinehart plays the part of the polished Allan Dinehat, though other characters persisted in referring to him as Sultsfeldt. The director must have said, "Just be yourselves, folks." Worth seeing only for the hilariously funny football game between the teams of rival gangsters which gives this labored and very dull affair a happily riotous finish.

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Air Mail

Fox

The United States Air Mail is traduced by the movie trade and now flies on with a tarnished reputation. If you believe the camera, which can and does lie often not like a gentleman, our air mail pilots live mainly to purvey thrills, crashes, and tawdry sex dramas for movie patrons. I raise my anguished voice in protest like a pelican crying in the wilderness, but I raise it anyway. And that's all the good it will do me. I give three extra groans for the two celluloid characters masquerading as pilots: the one unbelievably noble, the other unbelievably despicable, for which naturally I do not blame actors Ralph Bellamy and Pat O'Brien who did their best with the silly lines and the asinine antics demanded by the script.

Getting a strong hold on my sense of justice and dragging it out reluctantly to testify in behalf of this exhibit of deplorable bad taste, I depone that the trashy thing is ably photographed and directed, and that the flying sequences, both real and faked, are interesting and exciting. As a creditable story of the Air Mail, the monstrosity is utterly without virtue. So help me!

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Camille

Delos Chappell presents Robert Edmond Jones' production at the Morasco Theatre

Almost, though not quite as natural and believable as the canvas ice in those travelling Uncle Tom's Cabin shows of my youth, Camille again has been resurrected from the wax-works and again coughs her way to the final curtain. It is not without significance that the first Camille drew the tears of Parisian susceptibles on the night of Feb. 2, 1852, and that the first publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin was on March 20 of that same doleful year. Both Tom and Camille are definitely 1852; both are definitely hokum tear-jerkers; and the one is every bit as bad as the other. Yet Tom on his occasional shoddy reappearances must slink furtively about in the hinterland while Camille dampens the handkerchiefs of Broadway. The obvious reason for the widely differing fates that posterity has accorded these two equally dismal dishes of balderdash is that a Tom show may be played by the worst hams extant while Camille affords an actress of genius the world's most sweetly morbid opportunity to display her wares.

In the current resurrection of Marguerite Gautier, that diaphanous ghost of 1852 is exquisitely portrayed by the lovely, fragile, virginal Lillian Gish. When this hard-boiled commentator admits that either she or the hard seats of the Morosco Theatre brought tears to his eyes, you may safely believe that the Camille of Miss Gish is worth praising if the gush of Camille is not.

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Open Letter on a Political Blizzard

By H. I. Phillips

DEAR EDITOR:

Well, now that the election is all a thing of the past and we have had time to consider what happened and how, it is interesting to do a little summing up and anticipating. Hoover, I see by a close study of the returns, was hardly mentioned. He barely got into the Electoral College even as a part time student, and even then with the understanding he would have to share a room which Mr. Roosevelt was not using.

In Pennsylvania, Vermont and a few other states the voters pulled the wrong lever or something, but otherwise the candidacy of Mr. Hoover was very largely his own secret. It was really not so much an election as a national registration of headaches. I understand that Mr. Hoover still can't understand how it happened and has appointed a commission composed of 135 industrial leaders, Mr. Wickersham and the detective who did most of the work in the mystery of who hit Billy Patterson.

The story that Mr. Hoover might retire and turn things over to the Wizard of Hyde Park at once is not taken seriously, as it is pretty well known that it will take Herb until next March to pack his fishing tackle, play off his remaining games in his handball schedule with Mark Sullivan, and get I. O. U.'s from all those railroads, banks and pickle factories to whom he loaned so many million dollars. Altogether, I think it has been a wonderful lesson to Mr. Hoover and I will bet you a sterling silver nutcracker against a jelly roll that if he is ever caught in Europe again during a world war he will run like anything at the first suggestion that he take charge of distributing biscuits and hot coffee to neutral nations. That's where he made his first false step.

Ogden Mills, I understand, is still stunned, but he has been offered a lot of money by the Democratic party to run the G. O. P. campaign in all future elections. A similar offer has been made to Pat Hurley.

Interest now centers in the next cabinet. Here Mr. Roosevelt faces a serious problem that will give him plenty of headaches. If he appoints some of the men who were most instrumental in landing him the nomination at Chicago it will just be a question of getting a good man to write the libretto and get Clark and McCullough to come in now and then for extra laughs.

Huey Long has wired that he is willing to fill any three cabinet positions offered, provided he can write his own rules, operate over a national network and use the old golf ball. Mr. McAdoo through having been elected to the Senate is not in the market for a cabinet job and this is a load off the next President's mind. I don't know what Hi Johnson and Mr. Norris expect, or whether Mr. Hearst wants to be a consultant in the White House, but I have a hunch that some of the boys who were most noisily for Franklin at Chicago are going to find themselves Forgotten Men when it's plum harvesting time on the Potomac.

I understand that Mr. Howe will go with Mr. Roosevelt to Washington as his personal secretary, and that he will have full charge of the job. Mr. Roosevelt intends to have one secretary instead of an entire floor filled with them. This will be a great economy move. Mr. Hoover has so many secretaries that they had to be numbered so he himself could tell who was in the lineup.

If I were Mr. Roosevelt I would simplify this cabinet problem by doing away with some of the jobs and, like Eddie Cantor, I would abolish the Secretary of War on the ground that a secretary of war is not absolutely necessary to get us into a war as this has always been taken care of splendidly by the Secretary of State. He could do away with the Secretary of Commerce until there are some signs of commerce, as just now all that work could be taken care of by a detective or a good clairvoyant.

I can't see the immediate need for a Secretary of the Treasury. All the money in the treasury has been loaned to big corporations by the R. F. C., and for what it costs to keep a Secretary of the Treasury you can hire a lot of good collectors who can be rougher about getting the money back than a secretary could, since they are not in politics.

What we need in Washnigton more than secretaries is a good Grade A unscrambler, a certified efficiency expert, a qualified bunk, baloney and blah eliminator. We need a man who is a good experienced swivel chair merger and who can make one roll-top desk do the work of a dozen. I hate to see anybody lose a job but a lot of those department heads in Washington have been in a coma so long that they can make a living releasing the slow-motion picture rights.

One good thing about the election is that everybody has dropped these ogre stories about the country going into a back-spin if anybody changed the name on the White House door. Even the Republicans admit now that the future of America doesn't depend on whose whistle the White House collies answer.

I have been doing considerable investigating since Mr. Roosevelt was complained into the White House, and I am glad to report that, with only six alleys missing, no grass crop has sprung up in the streets of American cities. It is becoming more evident every day that anybody with a store on Main street who rushed out and bought a self-oiling, high speed wizard control free wheeling lawn mower when the returns began to come in on November 8th was a sucker.

Very truly yours,

HI. PHILLIPS.

P. S.—The schoolhouses and churches all seem to be standing up pretty well, too. I notice signs of decay in the cordial shops, whiskey cutting plants and alcohol poisoning laboratories, however.

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War Debts, Ltd.

By Henry Carter

The Presidential election was no sooner over than European governments reopened the argument of war debts. Henry Carter discusses the significance of this lull before the storm and reviews the commitments already made in the largest single issue now facing the world.

FOR THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS there have been repeated allusions in the press and elsewhere, to the existence of a secret agreement between the statesmen of Europe and the Hoover Administration whereby the former had agreed not to inject the controversial subject of War Debts into the Presidential campaign through untimely requests for cancellation or revision; and whereby, in return for their forbearance, the American Government would, after the election, show its gratitude by taking steps toward a complete cancellation or a sweeping revision of the debts.

The existence of such an agreement was emphatically and categorically denied by the President and his responsible advisers and representatives, who furthermore leaned over backward in their efforts to avoid any discussion whatsoever with the debtor nations regarding War Debts during the election. There is no question as to the literal veracity of these denials, and it may be said with assurance that no such agreement, formal or informal, existed. This must be accepted despite the fact that no sooner was the election over than first one European nation and then another began requesting postponement of debt payments due on December 15 and opened suits for reconsideration of the entire debt question. It is far from unlikely that the statesmen of Europe were unanimous as among themselves in realizing the importance of avoiding making advances toward the United States which would in any way have permitted the subject of War Debts to become an issue in the American Presidential campaign and which of necessity would have forced either the Republican or the Democratic Party, or both, to adopt an uncompromising and intransigent attitude on the question.

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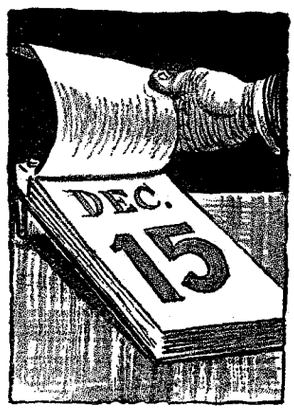
It would accordingly seem obvious that the European course of waiting until the election was over before broaching the question to the American Government was dictated by the most elementary considerations of prudence and common sense, and that it has in no wise called for, or required, American participation or approval, either formal or informal. Add to this the consideration that the question does not arise as a matter of practical necessity until December 15 when, with the expiration of the Hoover Moratorium, the next debt payments become due and the further fact that the European governments have not known with what American administration they would have to deal for the next four years, and the utter futility, from their point of view, of even seeking such an agreement becomes speedily apparent.



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It is common knowledge that in the course of the war and the post-Armistice period the United States advanced to its associates, for the prosecution of the war and the stabilization of post-Armistice Europe, credits amounting roughly to ten billion dollars, receiving for these promissory notes. No immediate attempt was made to fund these, and in 1921 after the first determination had been made by the Allies of the amounts which Germany was to pay in Reparations, suggestions were made that the War Debts between the Allies themselves and between them and the United States be cancelled as having been contributions to a common cause—the military defeat of Germany. Great Britain, aside from having borrowed some four billion dollars from the United States, was owed even greater sums by her Allies and by Germany. The British took the lead in this movement and went so far in an attempt to force the hand of the United States as to announce through the so-called Balfour Note of 1922 that she would collect from her Allies only so much as she might need to meet the requirements of her debt to the United States. The latter, however, was not only disinclined to any such proposal but actually resentful of it as putting the American taxpayer in the position of paying for a war which they had not started. Nevertheless, the colossal figure of the total debt involved and the obvious inability of an impoverished and war-weakened Europe to meet it in full did convince the United States of the practical necessity of making some compromise with its debtors.

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After extended diplomatic correspondence and negotiation the formula of "capacity to pay" was arrived at, an American World War Debt Commission with power to negotiate with the individual debtors was set up by Act of Congress, and in due course funding agreements with the various debtor nations were reached providing for the repayment of principal and interest through annuities extended over terms of sixty-two years. In determining the rate of interest and the size of these annuities the "capacity to pay" of each debtor nation was carefully considered with the result that a certain amount of de facto cancellation occurred, differing considerably for each individual case. For purposes of comparison, of our principal debtors, Great Britain may be said to have undertaken to pay about 82 cents on

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the dollar, France about 48 and Italy 25, under the present Debt Funding Agreements. The basis for this measure of cancellation was "capacity to pay" and that was defined by the Debt Commission in terms which will bear quoting:

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"While the integrity of international obligations must be maintained, it is axiomatic that no nation can be required to pay to another government sums in excess of its capacity to pay. The Commission . . . has adhered to the principle that the adjustments made with each Government must be measured by the ability of the particular Government to put aside and transfer to the United States the payments called for under the funding agreement.

"Nor does the principle of capacity to pay require the foreign debtor to pay to the full limit of his present or future capacity. It must be permitted to preserve and improve its economic position, to bring its budget into balance and to place its finances and currency on a sound basis, and to maintain, and if possible to improve, the standard of living of its citizens. No settlement which is oppressive and retards the recovery and development of the foreign debtor is to the best interest of the United States or of Europe."

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These settlements were not wholly pleasing to the European debtor nations, indeed France in ratifying her agreement took occasion to state that under no circumstances would she feel obliged to pay more than she should receive from Germany in Reparations, but they were the best that could be had, and while there were protests in the American Congress the United States appeared on the whole content to receive annuities averaging a total of $250,000,000 a year over a period of sixty-two years.

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In the meantime it had become apparent that the amounts being required from Germany as Reparations were entirely beyond her capacity and her resources, and in 1924 a revision of her Reparations annuities was made by the Dawes Commission reducing their sum total from about thirty-three billion dollars to the far more modest sum of eight billions.

Coincidentally measures were taken to facilitate the financial and economic rehabilitation of Germany, and the latter country began to find American bankers willing to advance loans for approved governmental and industrial projects. These loans in turn released other German resources which could then be turned over to the Allies as Reparations. This process whereby the United States in effect loaned Germany the money with which to pay her Reparations continued down to 1929 when fresh economic difficulties in Germany, the forerunners of the world depression, compelled a fresh revision of Reparations payments through the agency of the Young Plan which reduced the Dawes Plan annuities by half. However, Germany by then was having difficulty in finding further loans in the United States, and the final period to American lending abroad came with the Wall Street crash and the depression.

Germany's difficulties became increasingly great and the raising of tariff barriers and other trade restrictions now began to cut her off from her only other means of finding money for her Reparations payments, namely in her favorable balance of trade. Another crash in Germany grew imminent which threatened to sweep away, not only the Reparations payments, but also any hopes of repayment of the billions in private loans which Germany had contracted. These included two billions of American money. Not only was Germany threatened with complete collapse, but American bankers were so dangerously involved that to avoid a crash in the United States which would have added world-wide panic to world-wide depression, with a corresponding breakdown of the entire social and economic order of the civilized world President Hoover took the bold step in June, 1931, of calling for a year's moratorium upon all inter-governmental payments of whatever sort. It was a measure of desperation, but one which achieved its main purpose in spite of the initial reluctance of France, the principal beneficiary of German Reparations payments, to agree to the proposal.

In affording a breathing spell the Moratorium fulfilled its primary purpose, but by its very nature it tended to accentuate the process of deflation and liquidation which the depression had set in motion throughout the world. France proceeded to call her short term credits throughout Europe, her gold reserve piled up, and her politico-financial operations finally resulted in August, 1931, in driving Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries off the gold standard. It is never safe to speculate as to national motives, but one is tempted to say that if France had in fact been actuated by the purpose of asserting her *amour propre* which had been offended by the suddenness of President Hoover's move and of demonstrating her political and financial hegemony in Europe her course would not have been different.

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Her next move was significant. Financial and political ruler of Europe, she turned next to the United States and sent her Premier, M. Laval, to talk to Mr. Hoover. At the same time France started calling in her short term credits in the United States, resulting in immense shipments of gold from the United States to France. How effective this operation was in the determination of President Hoover's attitude is necessarily a matter of speculation, but the fact remains that M. Laval went back to France with everything he had come for. President Hoover had agreed that every effort should be made to preserve the gold standard (France and the United States held—and still hold—by far the greater part of the gold reserve of the world); President Hoover further agreed that German Reparations were a matter of purely European concern, and promised to take no steps which might affect them without previous consulta-

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tion with France; most important he agreed in principle to reconsider the Debt Funding Agreements in case the European governments effected a further reduction of German Reparations.

In pursuance of this understanding President Hoover was prepared to recommend to Congress a further extension of the Moratorium and a reconstitution of the World War Debt Commission. However, Congress had still to ratify the original Moratorium assembled in December of 1931 in such sulky and resentful humor that rather than endanger what had already been accomplished through the Moratorium, the President refrained from pressing his full program. The Moratorium was then approved by Congress, but with such reluctance that it was necessary to attach to the resolution of approval the following reservation:

"It is hereby expressly declared to be against the policy of Congress that any of the indebtedness of foreign countries to the United States be in any way cancelled or reduced, and nothing in this joint resolution shall be construed as indicating a contrary policy, or implying that favorable consideration will at any time be given to a change in policy hereby declared."

That was that. In the meantime the European nations had agreed to hold a conference at Lausanne in January of 1932 to consider the alarming nature of the report on German Reparations which had been drawn up by the Bank of International Settlements, the organization set up by the Young Plan for the transfer of Reparations to the Allies. Before it could meet the German Chancellor, Herr Bruening, flatly announced that Germany could pay no more Reparations as her resources were exhausted. The Conference was three times postponed. Any hope that the American Government would participate in any way vanished when the "New York Times" of January 21 published a dispatch giving what purported to be a memorandum presented to the Powers by the United States, providing that:

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1). There must be no connection between war debts and reparations.
2). The initiative on reparations must come from Europe.
3). An extension of the one-year moratorium would not be approved by Congress, while the Senate was opposed to either cancellation or reduction of the inter-Allied debts.
4). The United States would look with displeasure upon the formation of a "united front" by the debtor nations.
5). The existing debt agreements, having been concluded separately, can only be revised by individual negotiations with each of the debtor states.

The authenticity of this memorandum has been denied by the American Department of State, and there is no reason to believe that any such ultimatum was, in fact, presented to the debtor nations. However, the reported contents so closely reflected the temper of the American Government as dictated by the declared attitude of Congress that the "Times" dispatch virtually assumed a definite diplomatic authority. By this time President Hoover had turned to the Disarmament Conferenc sitting at Geneva in the hope that effective action by it in restoring some semblance of political security and stability in Europe and in materially reducing the costs of armament might make possible a degree of economic recovery in Europe which would render the Reparations-War Debts question of secondary importance. Aside from this, general elections in both France and Germany were to take place in the late spring, and until the outcome of these were known and until the new governments had taken office it was impossible for France and Germany to arrive at any firm understanding, whether on Reparations or Disarmament. These and other considerations indicated the practical necessity of further postponement of the proposed Lausanne Conference, and on February 13 it was announced that it would not take place until June.

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The formation of the moderate Herriot government in France following the French elections and the re-election in Germany of President von Hindenburg made possible the resumption of definitive conversations between France and Germany, and these were not materially affected by the replacement of the Bruening government in Germany by the Von Papen Cabinet. Great Britain in the person of Ramsay MacDonald worked unceasingly for preliminary accords to prepare the ground for the proposed Reparations Conference, and after earnest diplomatic exchanges the Conference finally opened at Lausanne on June 16, 1932. All the nations concerned had been chastened by the adversity of world depression and met in an unusually conciliatory spirit.

The first act of the Conference, over which Ramsay MacDonald presided, was to prolong the Moratorium as between the parties to the Conference. It then proceeded after various vicissitudes to formulate an agreement whereby Reparations, as such, were abolished and whereby Germany by way of "compensation" for this concession agreed to make over to the Bank of International Settlements negotiable 5% bonds running for 37 years amounting to a lump sum of three billion marks (approximately $750,000,000). These bonds were to be negotiated only in the event that German credit after three years permitted such a course and the disposition of the proceeds was to be determined by future agreement among the interested nations. This was accompanied by a so-called Gentlemen's Agreement making ratification of this arrangement contingent upon a satisfactory settlement of the Allies' War Debts to the United States. Pending this all European inter-governmental debts were to remain suspended, and provision likewise was made for the convening of a World Economic Conference which it was hoped the United States would be able to attend and which would discuss matters relating to international trade and monetary questions, notably the stabilization of silver.

These proceedings had caused considerable apprehension to the American Department of State

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and in Congressional circles where the Gentlemen's Agreement came in for pointed criticism. Following up the semi-official warning of January the State Department on the eve of the Conference had issued a statement, and another on June 21 after the Conference was in session, formally dissociating itself from any connection with the proceedings and decisions of the Lausanne Conference and reminding the European nations of the attitude of the American Congress. Moreover, immediately after the conclusion of the Conference, President Hoover felt called upon to assure Senator Borah in a letter made public July 14:

"I wish to make it absolutely clear that the United States have not been consulted regarding any agreements reported by the Press to have been concluded recently at Lausanne, and that of course it is not a party, nor in any way committed, to any such agreement.

"While I do not assume it to be the purpose of any of these agreements to effect the combined action of our debtors, if it shall be so interpreted, then I do not propose that the American people shall be pressed into any line of action or that our policy shall in any way be influenced by such a combination, whether open or implied."

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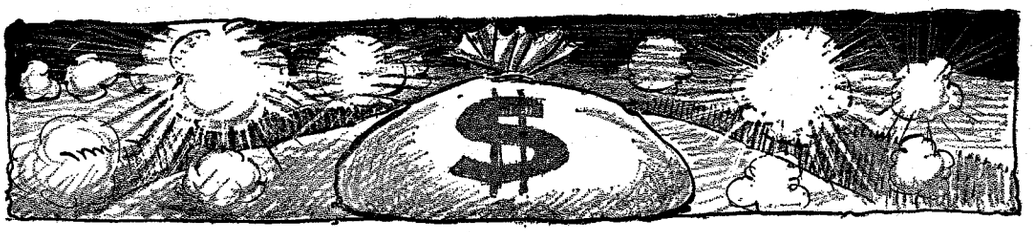
The effect of these declarations of policy, beginning with the declaration of Congress in December, 1931, and in the later statements on the part of the Executive branch of the Government cited above, was obviously to render any discussion of the War Debts wholly impracticable during the course of the American Presidential campaign, and no official communications were made on the subject by the debtor nations pending the outcome of the November elections.

But now that the first of these overtures has been made, what is to be the American attitude? Unyielding refusal to reconsider would not only be damaging to our reputation for national good faith, but would invite repudiation in one form or another on the part of Europe, an eventuality which would be dangerous if not disastrous to the entire structure of international relations. In discussing Reparations at Lausanne Ramsay MacDonald is quoted as saying, "If default [of Reparations] is to be avoided, engagements which have proved incapable of fulfillment should be revised by agreement." In this he echoed the recorded policy of the United States as set forth by the World War Debt Commission, as illustrated in the whole course of the negotiations relating to the Moratorium, and which was later reflected in the Hoover-Laval understanding.

Whether we like it or not, whether Congress likes it or not, we are committed to reconsideration of the War Debts upon proper application, and it would be delusion to think that such application will not be forthcoming. And if the sacrifices made at Lausanne afford any criterion for those which we shall be asked to make, we shall have a problem in international relations which will call for our best and broadest statesmanship in the White House and in Congress, one which will depend for its successful and lasting solution upon the operation of an enlightened and level-headed public opinion throughout the country.



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The Depression-Demagogue at School

By Arthur B. Moehlman

What is to be the fate of our 25,000,000 public school students in the wave of appropriation reduction hysteria now sweeping the country? This is the question posed by Arthur B. Moehlman, Professor of School Administration, University of Michigan, and editor of "The Nation's Schools."

IN PROSPERITY EVERYONE takes the schools for granted; in depression public education, from kindergarten through our state universities, becomes a natural target for every amateur and potential officeholder who has a patent remedy for furnishing public service without expense.

Whatever our individual opinions may be respecting the relative effectiveness of our great public school system with more than 25,000,000 students and 800,000 teachers, we cannot overlook or minimize the fact that public education is one of the four major functions of a democratic social order and most essential to its maintenance. It is also peculiar in so far as it continues without our power to arrest it. Children are born and grow regardless of prosperity or depression. They can only have their chance now. We cannot arrest their development for a few years until we have again attained our economic balance. Roads may wait but not the children.

Despite the depression the schools are constantly growing in numbers. As a basic activity, it is deserving of the most serious study and reasoned consideration rather than the hasty, shortsighted, and rather unintelligent, treatment of the past three years.

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There can be no reasonable opposition to the adjustment of public school budgets to new economic purchasing levels. If the 1928 purchasing power is maintained, the actual total number of dollars is not so important. In most instances these adjustments were readily and quickly made by the school authorities themselves without any outside pressure. But the natural psychology of panic conditions among the people has opened the way temporarily for much demagogic quackery. Small, selfishly organized groups have taken advantage of conditions and have gone much further and reduced many school organizations to mere skeletons and almost completely crippled numerous others.

In those centers where these special-interest leagues and associations have made themselves temporarily supreme, the despair-emotion of the people has been harnessed to serve those minority ends. It is this second, and socially dangerous, series of attacks on school programs and budgets which should be brought before the people for careful scrutiny. These tendencies cannot continue without grave danger to the commonwealth.

The chief argument in panic-cutting has been that taxes are too high and must be reduced. This fact may be accepted as a general working principle and, since all tax systems are based on a continuation of economic activity, any tax program will become burdensome in "low periods." Indiscriminate slashing has been made, without regard for programs, social needs, or whether the cause lay in other fields. The sole criteria has been money totals. These practices may be compared to the attempt of an amateur mechanic to adjust a fine motor with no tool except a heavy machinist's hammer. Certain results are secured, but the motor may no longer be capable of effective service. The hammer and the pruning knife are no more effective as means of social appraisal than the policeman's nightstick is as an educational instrument.

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Up to the present time the major attention of these groups has been centered on the elementary and secondary schools. In many states, however, plans are already being perfected to move the emotional barrage to the state legislative sessions in 1933, and to perform similar operations on the public universities, agricultural and teachers' colleges. Unless this movement is definitely checked by more rational and cool headed leadership, the results to higher education may be very disastrous.

Many of our elementary and secondary school systems already have been crippled. Class sizes have been increased beyond any reasonable assumption of instructional efficiency. Further, these enlarged classes have been crowded into rooms designed for reasonable group sizes. The result is poor health conditions, with respect to fresh air and physical spacing requirements. Ventilating systems are actually not used in certain centers because the budgets do not provide for their operation. These overcrowded rooms do not permit movement or freedom and, as a natural concomitant, teaching degenerates into mere catechismic instruction. Half-day sessions, with seriously reduced curriculums, are common, and in one large city the schools already are operating only three days a week.

To hamper further the direct instructional process, supplies of the poorest quality are being used. Price has superseded quality, regardless of the utter extravagance of such practice. The purchase of essential textbooks and library reference books has decreased approximately 40 per cent for the country as a whole. Old books are not replaced, and new ones are not purchased.

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Even if we assume that the teacher, harassed by large classes in inadequately sized rooms, is able to teach, the decline in quality of supplies and the absence of essential books tends further to decrease her potential efficiency.

Essential repairs to buildings have been neglected. Boilers which should be replaced as a matter of safety, degenerated heating and ventilating units, poor plumbing, leaky roofs, shaky and cracked plaster, broken doors, dangerous stairs, and the innumerable other items that go to make up the essentials of the physical plant have been given so little consideration by this unintelligent process of budget cutting that as a nation we will face tripled and quadrupled costs for physical plant replacement within a few years.

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Equipments in science and in other curricular divisions have been allowed to degenerate badly. In many instances they have reached the point of real danger to the children. A recent country-wide survey of physical plants, conducted by "The Nation's Schools," indicated that practically every section had been most seriously affected with respect to neglect of the physical school plant, inadequate instructional supplies of more than poor quality and a great deficiency in text, and library-reference books. Many of our school systems today bear little inward resemblance to 1928 conditions. These facts are not easily apparent to the laymen but indicate serious danger signals to the professionally trained specialist.

Essential curricular activities, both for the children and adults, have been stripped to ineffectiveness or completely eliminated. In our highly industrialized social order there is constant need for the re-education of the adult who has been forced out of employment for technological reasons. The free evening continuation school has furnished to these people the chance to readjust themselves and prepare for possible new work without loss of self-respect or morale. In many of our large cities, there are almost as many adults in voluntary evening school attendance as adolescents in compulsory day school attendance. This service to adults is socially essential, and financially, relatively cheap. The plants and equipments are idle after their day use. Teaching service and supplies are the only real outlay. Short-sighted economy has eliminated entirely adult teaching in many of our large cities.

Schools change as social need demands. While the three R's were adequate for a rural and frontier economy they are today merely tools which the child may use in other essential fields of instruction. If we desire to produce a generation able to cope with the intricate problems confronting it, we cannot afford to neglect the health activity, the social studies, the exact sciences, on which our industrial culture rests, the fine arts, or vocational fields. The most strenuous attempts have been made to reduce these essential curricular activities to the patterns of the Sixties and Seventies.

Children are not endowed by nature or by constitutional enactment with the same capacities. Many will remain children all of their lives. These backward types require special training. By spending approximately twice as much on them as on normal children, they may be prepared to earn their own living instead of becoming parasitic institutional charges. The social difference is briefly this: by spending from $900 to $1,000 more on their public school education, they may become satisfied and economically profitable members of society and produce values during their natural life approximating $30,000. By refusing to recognize their limitations and special educational needs, they will undoubtedly become charges on the state and cost, in service and institutional care, almost $20,000. The difference between a productive unit and a social burden is then an educational expenditure of approximately one thousand dollars. This training represents real social economy. Much of the finer work done in these special fields has been crippled, or eliminated by indiscriminate budget slashing.

Out-of-school recreation, extra-class activity, libraries and general guidance is also vital under our present order of living. The development of constructive leisure time interests is a small price to pay for future social stability. It is one of the real means, according to modern sociological theory, of providing safeguards against future delinquency. Social expenditures for crime, for apprehension, judging, and institutional maintenance is far greater proportionately than the expenditures for education. Despite these most obvious facts, some of the most shortsighted reductions have taken place in these essential fields.

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In addition to these physical, curricular and instructional deficiencies, the efficiency of instruction has been further decreased by activities affecting directly the morale of the teaching personnel. Our philosophy of education has consistently maintained that the schools exist as a state agency to develop individuals who can live successfully in a democratic, social organization.

This means that both the social and individual aspects must be given due consideration and emphasis. We have believed that all organization essential to carry on the work of the schools must be considered solely as a means through which our objective may be attained. Applying this principle concretely, it means that all superintendents, principals, teachers, clerks, and building custodians must be selected, judged, and rewarded in terms of the worth of their services to the objectives of the schools.

The popular insistence on cheap, rather than on good, teaching personnel is threatening to change this concept. Many mothers are thinking again that the schools exist largely to furnish their daughters with jobs. The natural over-supply of teachers, accentuated by the depression, is causing unusual competition. In many instances the quality and service concepts have been superseded by the "teaching jobs must go to the lowest bidder" idea. The popular belief that all teachers are of equal quality and that teaching certificates are of equal value has so far prevented any great opposition to this practice.

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Teachers who have remained in service have had their sick leaves discontinued and the fear of job uncertainty has developed. As a result, the natural morale of the teaching force has been considerably depressed. If the "job concept" and competitive bidding continues, the teaching in our public schools will be greatly diminished in effectiveness and we will also pay heavily for this mistake within the next decade.

This brief discussion may orient the reader to the viewpoint which sees the extreme delicacy and the complicated nature of the educational process. It is at once the most involved and intricate and, popularly, the least understood of all of our social activity. Where millions of children are constantly progressing through the schools, the simplicity of the "Mark Hopkins-Log" concept as actual educational practice is purely figurative.

Education today is much more than confining units of children in separate rooms with teachers and letting the process ferment. For each dollar spent, not much more than seventy cents can be allocated to instruction. Supplementary and complementary activities require the balance. Buildings must be kept in repair, be cleaned, heated and ventilated. Playgrounds must be developed and maintained, plants, shrubs, lawns and trees given care. Teaching itself is a highly complicated activity in which the teacher may now be likened to a skillful physician who diagnoses the need of each individual and prescribes in accordance. This highly organized process is dependent largely on the internal budget balance maintained between the fundamental activity of teaching and the complementary, or facilitating, activities of physical plant and service of supplies. No portion can be ruthlessly cut by laymen unfamiliar with the field without serious harm to the nation and the children.

The question may naturally arise as to whether some of these cuts are not justified. There has been much discussion of school extravagance in our newspapers for a number of years. Newspaper comment on any situation cannot be taken out of its pattern and these attacks, if we are to consider their validity seriously, must be studied locally, in terms of the paper's politics and special idiosyncrasies. Most of them deal with criticisms of physical building. So far as my own experience is valid, I doubt whether many of these charges can be factually sustained.

The school budgets naturally attract popular attention because they consume from one-fourth to one-third of the local tax dollar. Considered by itself this proportion seems large. However, when coupled with the fact that our school systems are furnishing service to approximately one-fourth of the total population of a given community and the budget is considered in terms of units of service, the cost is by no means extreme. Naturally there are many variations in different school systems. The most efficient ones give a truly remarkable service for a relatively small instruction-hour outlay; those dominated by partisan politics in certain centers do spend more. However, the general charge of extravagance is hard to sustain. These attacks on the schools as "reckless and wanton spenders" are due to other considerations which the shortsighted demagogue now in control is apparently incapable of seeing.

Schools suffer for three reasons, all outside of their own making and responsibility. The first of these is the size of the administrative district. With the exception of certain sections of the country the small traditional rural or village district with insufficient children and insufficient taxing value behind it, is incapable of providing an adequate educational program without unusual and unwarranted sacrifice on the part of the people. Districts designed for the horse and buggy age still predominate in practice. The tradition of extreme localism dies hard and is expensive, even when industrial conditions are good.

The second difficulty lies in our archaic system of taxation. The schools are practically supported (eighty per cent) by revenue from real property. The city, the school district, the county, and the state each levy tribute on this single form of wealth. Four successive levies on a single item! It is not difficult to see why popular discontent, felt even in good times, becomes highly emotional and extremely drastic during depressions. The third difficulty, also outside of the school's control, is the continuation, particularly in the North, of useless, expensive and duplicating forms of local government. These include the township, the county in metropolitan areas, and the sparsely settled counties in poor areas. All of these local units, with their own sets of elected officials and their expensive duplication of effort, take unnecessary tribute from real property.

The answer does not lie in the ruthless crippling of the most important of our social activities in terms of cultural maintenance—public education—but distinctly in the field of intelligent reform and elimination of useless and extravagant local government, the development of financially capable school districts through the creation of larger units, and the reorganization of our state systems of taxation to reduce the crushing and unnecessary burden on real property.

We are actually in the process of destroying a very valuable and expensively acquired capital investment through neglect. Continuation of this program means unusual expenditures in the not distant future. Disastrous results and social instability will most certainly follow any great deterioration in public education.

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Outlook Book Choice of the Month

Reviewed by Robert Cantwell

SHERMAN, FIGHTING PROPHET. By Lloyd Lewis. $3.00. 653 pp. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company.

A FEW MONTHS after the beginning of the Civil War a red-haired man of forty, a general in the Union Army, was relieved of his command and sent to his home for a rest. He was William Tecumseh Sherman, commander of the department of the Cumberland, foster-son of one of the leading lawyers of the North, a graduate of West Point, a former banker and teacher. Back in his home in Lancaster, Ohio, Sherman read in the newspapers that he had gone insane.

There was a curious sequence of events behind this story. For some time Sherman had been acting queerly, at least from the point of view of the newspapermen. He could not share the common view that the war was to be brief and decisive, and that the rebels were to be quickly defeated. He was a realist; he saw war as a serious and deadly business, with its object not glory but victory, with as little loss of life and property as possible. The stream of volunteers into his camps, far from cheering him, sickened him with despair. He had been in the rout at Bull Run, and the youth of his troops, their inexperience, the inadequacy of their supplies, affected him so greatly that he could not endure the responsibility of sending them into battle. His anxiety for his troops and his lack of confidence in them led him to make decisions which were inexplicable to observers. The same man who was later to lead one of the most daring marches in military history now trembled at every stray rumor from the enemy, and magnified the Confederate threat out of all proportion to the actual strength of the army.

At the same time, the newspaper correspondents were opposed to Sherman. He believed in a military censorship of the press. He expelled correspondents from his camps, had them arrested when they tried to enter, and all this at a time when the newspapers were powerfully connected with army affairs. A little later he was to have the correspondent of the "New York Herald" court-martialed as a spy—an act which required almost as much courage as the march to the sea, since the "Herald" was the chief supporter of Lincoln's administration. The correspondents struck back and circulated the rumor that Sherman was crazy. There was no defense against it. The simple accusation was enough to destroy confidence in Sherman, and thereafter the rumor that he was insane would rise after each of his victories or defeats.

So, at Lancaster, Sherman reached the low point in a career which had been distinguished for its failures. In spite of his foster-father's influence —which he had always resisted— Sherman had not advanced rapidly after his graduation from West Point. After he left the army he had failed as a banker, in both San Francisco and New York; in both cities he had taken over his duties immediately before financial panics. He had not been able to provide for his family, and in fact had been separated from his wife and children for a good part of his married life. He had lost his confidence in himself. Since many high officials in the War Department believed him to be mentally unbalanced, his military career was apparently ended. Even the members of his family adopted a somewhat apologetic attitude in regard to him.

The crisis of Sherman's life was clearly apparent at this time, and it is interesting to compare the emphasis his biographers place on it. Sherman himself, in his "Memoirs," justified his actions, as did B. H. Liddell Hart in his military biography published a few years ago. Hart also pointed out acutely that Sherman's hatred of politicians and the press was an indication of how good a politician and journalist he was; he saw the relation between public opinion and military victory. Now, in "Sherman, Fighting Prophet," Lloyd Lewis has written of this period in more detail, showing it as a definite turning point in Sherman's life, and contrasting his vacillating attitude before with his direct, purposeful manner afterwards.

It is a remarkable story, and "Sherman, Fighting Prophet," is an extremely interesting book; a fat, full, old-fashioned biography, rich in facts and lean in that random speculation and "imaginative evocation" which so frequently indicates nothing more than a lack of research by the biographer. Sherman's life was so interesting that a dull book about it seems an impossibility, although Sherman himself tried hard to write one in his two volumes of reminiscence. What makes the life seem so remarkable is the combination of forces—economic, political, individual—that lifted Sherman into power after his disgrace. In a very short time he was in command again, leading his troops on marches into the South which heartened the Northern armies and left the South paralyzed with fear.

One situation after another arose in which Sherman's peculiar experiences and talents could be used most effectively. Both Grant and Sherman rose in popularity not only because of their success but because the armies on the Eastern front were stalemated. Sectional antagonism, the agrarian West against the industrial East, helped Sherman's rise. The secret anti-war societies of the Northwest, planning revolution, lost power as each success of the Western army stimulated sectional pride. It is the most impressive feature of Mr. Lewis' biography that he does

(*Continued on Page* 59)

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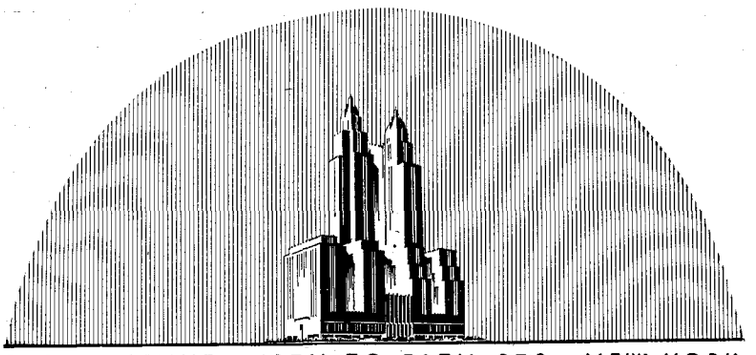

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Books for Gifts

From Page's List

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Extraordinary Popular Delusions

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By CHARLES MACKAY, LL.D.

This amazing book, originally published in 1841, has been out of print for many years. It describes vividly and in detail the great delusions of the past such as the Mississippi Bubble, the South Sea Bubble, the Tulip Craze, and the Witch Mania which have affected peoples and nations. "There is not elsewhere," writes Bernard M. Baruch, "so engagingly, carefully and comprehensively related the astonishing circumstances of each of the great popular fallacies of the earlier eras. This book has saved me millions of dollars." *With facsimile title page of the original edition and numerous illustrations, $6.00*

Certain material in the original edition was deleted when the 1852 edition was issued, and is available in pamphlet form, which will be supplied free with each copy of the book. The pamphlet separately, $1.00.

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Outlook's Book Choice

(*Continued from page 56*)

not set up Sherman as an exceptional individual, endowed with mysterious gifts; instead he analyzes the political and economic situation of the country, the intrigues of the Union generals, and Sherman's peculiar fitness for the sort of tasks which suddenly became available for him.

It is curious that Sherman's very failures as a civilian contributed to his success as a soldier. Because he had refused his foster-father's influence as a young man he had been consigned to unimportant army posts in the South, with the result that in the crisis his knowledge of the country and the people enabled him to act directly where the other generals were hesitant or baffled. Because he had taught in the South, after his failure as a banker, he knew the characteristics of the people, and knew the kind of tactics which would frighten and demoralize them. How keen his knowledge was, and how completely his judgments were verified by events, Mr. Lewis makes clear by quoting from a letter Sherman wrote to Lincoln; the letter is a masterly piece of social analysis, with the class difference of Southern society acutely seen and formulated.

Foraging, his men brought the hard fact of war to the civilians, while at the same time the lack of a supply train enabled them to move swiftly. Sherman knew the value of drama. Communication with the North was cut off, and for more than a month the huge army was lost, disappearing into the enemy country like a diver plunging under water, as Mr. Lewis says, with the rumors reaching home "like bubbles rising to the surface." Then the simple message: "Atlanta is ours and fairly won."

This is an exciting book, and one which throws a good deal of light, not only on Sherman's character, but on the whole complex situation of the Civil War. It is quite illuminating that at Missionary Ridge, where the common soldiers were victorious through their own efforts, and in spite of the fact that their officers were completely confused, Sherman thought that Grant had been responsible. Believing in discipline and strong central authority, he gave Grant credit for the victory—while Grant, at that time, had not known what was actually taking place.

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FLOWERING WILDERNESS. By John Galsworthy. Scribners. $2.50. Galsworthy's story of a young Englishman disgraced for having changed his religion.

ILL WIND. By James Hilton. Morrow. $2.50. The second novel of a young English writer.

GREENBANKS. By Dorothy Whipple. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50. The story of a large family, as seen through the eyes of the grandmother.

THE SLEEPWALKERS. By Hermann Broch. Little Brown. $3.00. A long novel tracing the decay of the German middle class.

GOD'S ANGRY MAN. By Leonard Ehrlich. Simon and Schuster. $2.50. Brilliant first novel based on the life of John Brown and the Harper's Ferry Raid.

THE PASCARELLA FAMILY. By Franz Werfel. Simon and Schuster. $2.50. The tragedy of a Venetian family, dominated by a tyrannical father.

THE HAUNTED MIRROR. By Elizabeth Madox Roberts. Viking Press. $2.50. A new volume of short stories by the famous Kentucky novelist.

THE NARROW CORNER. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday Doran. $2.50. Tropical melodrama, laid in the islands off the Malay peninsula.

HUMOR

NO POEMS: AROUND THE WORLD BACKWARDS AND SIDEWAYS. By Robert Benchley. Harpers. $2.00. Benchley's analysis of important problems of the moment.

THE FIFTH NEW YORKER ALBUM. Harpers. $2.50. An annual anthology of illustrations from the magazine.

THE FURIOSO. By Leonard Bacon. Harpers. $2.50. Satire in verse.

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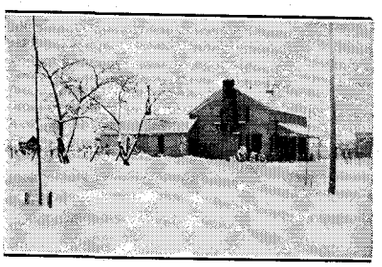

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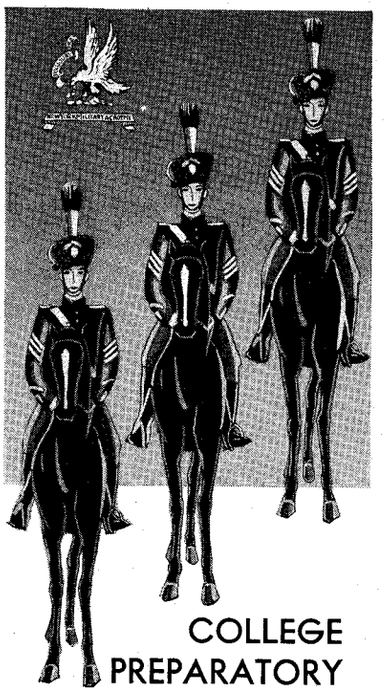
Winter Scene at *River Bend*



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See page 66.

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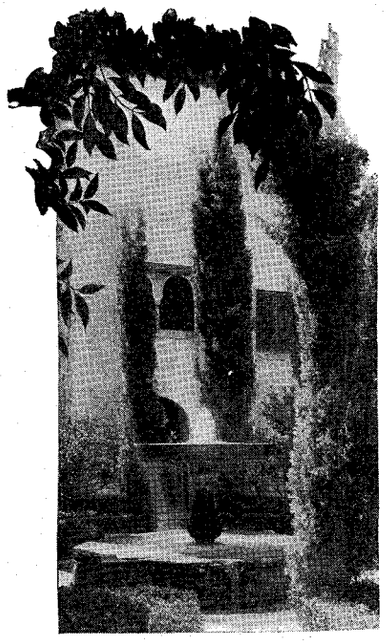

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Traveling with the News

IF IT BE COINCIDENCE, then it is a happy one, that Switzerland has been chosen for so many of those international conferences—such as Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick discusses in her article to be found on another page of this number of NEW OUTLOOK.

Today, as during many, many decades of the past, travelers stepping over the borders of France or Italy, Austria or Germany, directly into Switzerland and seeking a more tranquil life, or a by-path from international strife—have found them. From the moment one crosses over into Switzerland, one ascends to new and higher altitudes which make for clarity of vision and a complete change of viewpoint. No diagnostician could recommend a healthier change of air, or a more healing landscape for an ailing world. Once inside of Switzerland one, per force of Nature, looks down upon the rest of the world and finds its people but pygmies and its troubled affairs just so many tempests in tiny earthen teapots.

Switzerland furnishes an environment refreshing beyond that offered by any other country. It rivals the North Countries in cleanliness—the air, the scenery, the houses and the people who live in them and, above all, the people's minds, their politics and their government, by contrast, are amazingly clean. They have been under no necessity of raising up imaginary Matterhorns into the clouds of debt and oblivion, because they have their own natural Matterhorn anchored to the green earth.

While Switzerland's natural gifts have made her a by-word for scenic beauty, she has been bountifully blessed with practically all the other emoluments sought by the acquisitive and inquisitive traveler—all Seven Arts, conceived, wrought, preserved and still flourishing in their original state and environment.

●

Nothing could quite spoil, for example, the exquisite setting and beauty of Geneva—although all the problems, tumult and turmoil of an outside world have been imported to this lovely and tranquil spot for strictly pacific purposes. Into this back-world retreat of Nature have come stalking half the stiff figures of

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FLY!

future history with their starched retinues and all their artificial etiquette of diplomacy.

But these theatrical circumstances and their trappings should deter no inquiring traveler with an eye for the drama of World Affairs, who would relish seeing the principal actors *en pantoufles,* or in little unrehearsed sideshows.

We step off the train not precisely into the quiet French city of a Swiss Canton that we had imagined, but rather into the midst of an "international circus in town" atmosphere —that one feels in Bayreuth or in Oberammergau the day before the Big Show. There is the usual gauntlet of hotel porters, fittingly labeled in gold lace, to be run. Thenceforth the whole scene takes on not a little of the glamor of the theatre or of the circus, with famous troupers of spectacular international acts, scene shifters and publicity men, all over the place.

We are whirled down Main Street in a mild state of suppressed excitement, peering this way and that way with a grown-up child's curiosity. We make a mental note of the many brilliant cafés spreading out over the sidewalks and filled with picturesque-looking performers from a score of nations, to which we shall return later on for an aperitif or a *café blanc*. Our vehicle is halted by M. le Directeur of Traffic directly in front of the proscenium arch of the entire Geneva stage. Lake Leman spreads out before us. The street bridge over the tiny strait through which the lake merges into the Rhone is beside us. Beyond is the island where Jean Jacques Rousseau once lived and which bears his name. The French Legation is directly behind us; the German Legation convenveniently near, just across the bridge. The official residences of other members of the League of Nations dot the curving shore of the lake on the left, coming to a climax in the gloomy former Palais des Nations brooding in its little park.

At length we turn off to the right, in the direction of the University and Calvin's original Church, and soon find ourselves under the porte cochere of La Residence Hotel, let us say.

Or perhaps that afternoon we decide to take in a side-show or two. We will take a long stroll up the

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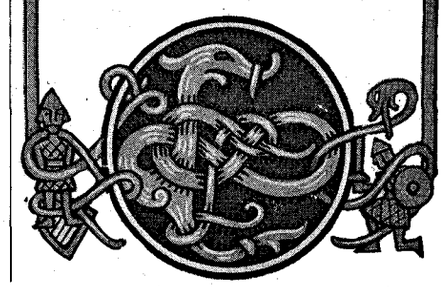

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left bank of the Lake and drop into the Kursaal for a little recreation. From there we walk on a bit further and take a turn around the now abandoned theatre, the old Palais des Nations, which in its day gave more than one performance which received good notices throughout the world. We are particularly interested in the "Gold Fish Bowl," as they named the apse-like extension on the Palais where the star chamber Council Meetings were held, finally pausing before the plaque set in the wall memorializing the Founder of the League of Nations: Woodrow Wilson.

At length we arrive at the favored outlook where we turn and gaze at a Swiss spectacle, a world headliner in its way. Mont Blanc, its snow-covered peak set on a bank of clouds and mist like a mighty Koh-i-noor, catching the dying rays of the sun, alive, sparkling, flashing with living fire of pink, white and blue; its ghost reflected in the iridescent waters of the Lake. And among those present we may find a Briand and a Count Apponyi and a Bernard Shaw—on separate benches, diplomatically enjoying this gorgeous side-show . . .

•

Just at the top of Lake Leman lies Lausanne—no mean city of 100,000—the scene of the Reparations Conferences.

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•

If the delegates to the conference at Basle, headquarters of the Bank of International Settlements, only had chosen to convene at some point

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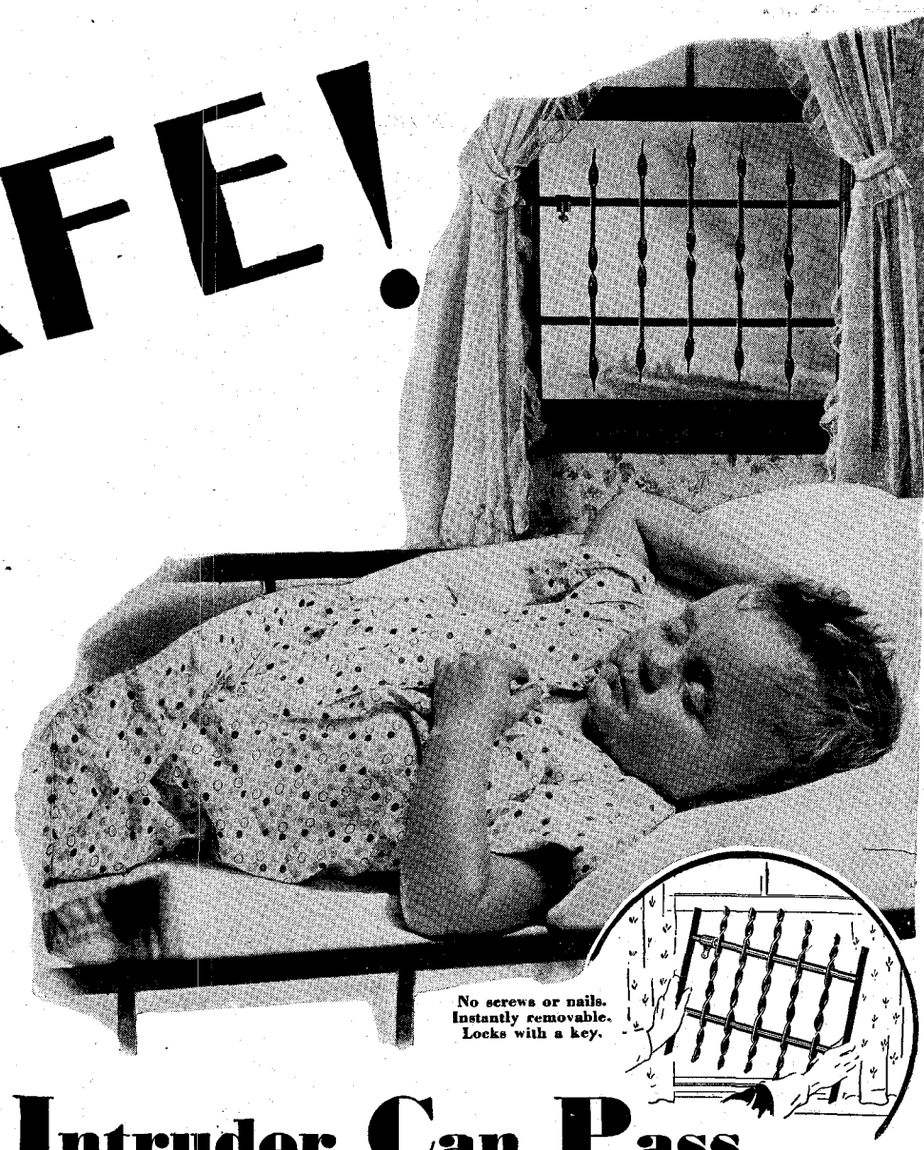

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overlooking the busy harbor and river front of this city, they might have been materially aided in determining How Much Germany Can Pay.

For Basle (Basel, in German—which it speaks and more resembles in appearance and feeling than French) is the Golden Gateway from and for the whole north of Europe, due to its situation at the great bend in the River Rhine. In consequence of its strategic position on the borders of three countries Basle has become one of the chief ports of the Rhine and one of the principal commercial centers of European commerce—always left intact and inviolate by wars that flamed and destroyed everything up to its very gate posts. Here also, the chief railway and airway lines of the Continent meet and intersect—all revealing in plain facts and figures Germany's commercial supremacy. All day and all night long, the procession of German barges—laden to the gunwales with German manufactures—slip silently down the Rhine into this important clearing house.

While above the River glower the frowning walls of a medieval city, enriched for centuries in buildings and monuments of Rheingold.

•

The recent British Empire Trade Congress brings us back temporarily to our Continent; to Ottawa, Capital of the Dominion of Canada.

But not an America of the U. S. A. For Ottawa, alone of all the cities in this neck of the Empire, seems to have quite escaped a prevailing Yankee influence and atmosphere, remaining ponderously British. The opening of the Federal Parliament—a glittering function carried out with all the pomp and circumstance of Westminister on a smaller scale—would convince any onlooker that Canada is still safe for Britain. The stately gothic buildings of the Houses of Parliament are on strictly European lines within and without, and therefore quite a different sight to see from our domed State Houses and National Capitol. Rideau Hall, the residence of the Royal Governor General, is a Palace, not a White House. The Peace Tower containing a monster carillon instead of another Big Ben, the Victoria Museum and the Royal Mint, all keep us institutionally in mind of H. M. King George V., and of his Royal

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mother, Victoria, whose ample shadow still hangs over every corner and cranny of Ottawa—alone making it worth a visit.

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●

Ireland for color!

One of the first sights we see (the season of the year makes little difference) from the ship after leaving America are the uplands of Hibernia clad in the natural color of the Old Sod—a brilliant green. This is, indeed, Emerald Isle, the latest problems of which Sean T. O'Kelly discusses under the title, "The Irish Land Annuities."

Sooner or later, we find ourselves in Dublin. Here in Dublin and throughout the length and breadth of an unbelievably beautiful and romantic country, we should manage to take on a "local" guide, if we would fully understand "The Playboy of the Western World."

We learn the names of many new (to us) Saints and visit their shrines. St. Audoen, St. Michan, St. Werburgh. Ancient and interesting fanes, all of them, especially St. Michan's whose vaults possessing miraculous properties for preserving bodies for centuries are stressed. We are shown the birthplaces, one after another, of some of the greatest figures who have added to Britain's lustre and glory: the Duke of Wellington, Dean Swift, Edmund Burke, Sir Thomas More, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Samuel Lover, George Moore, George Bernard Shaw! We are somewhat disappointed in the appearance of the famous Abbey Theatre, which had once been the morgue!

Finally, at sundown, we stand on the fine O'Connell Street Bridge across the Liffey, with all Dublin silhouetted in the darkling waters of the River, here and there enlivened by flocks of battling sea gulls and stormy petrels like the turbulent spirit of Erin itself. There are the landmarks of its struggles and culture: the dome of the Four Courts, Christ Church tower, the Nelson Pillar, the Custom House Cupola and high above them all, the spire of St. Patrick's Cathedral.—*Henry Albert Phillips.*

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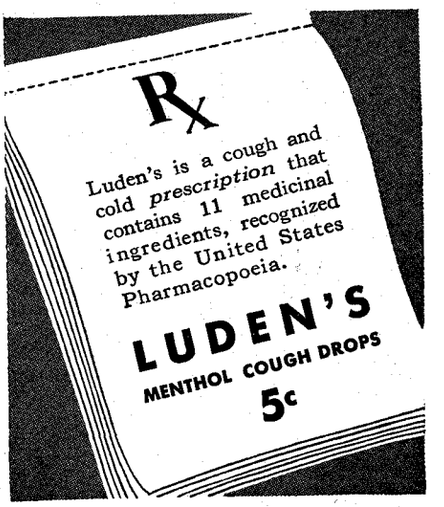
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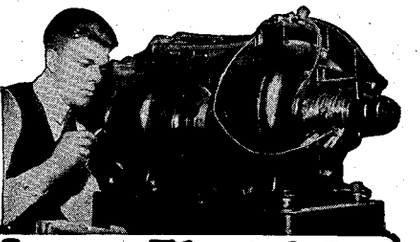

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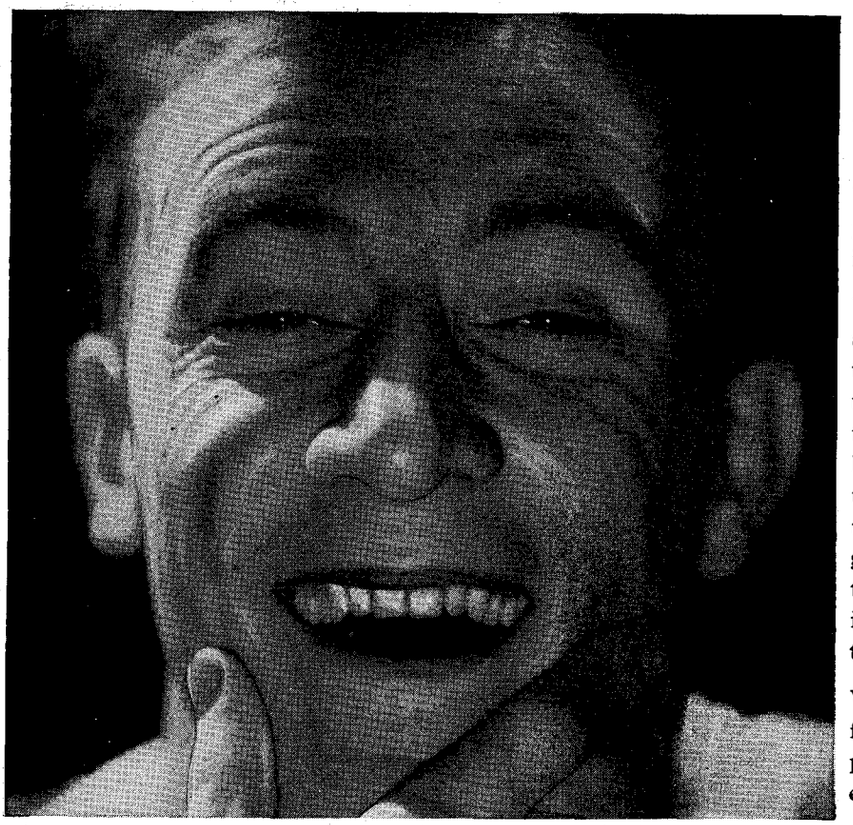

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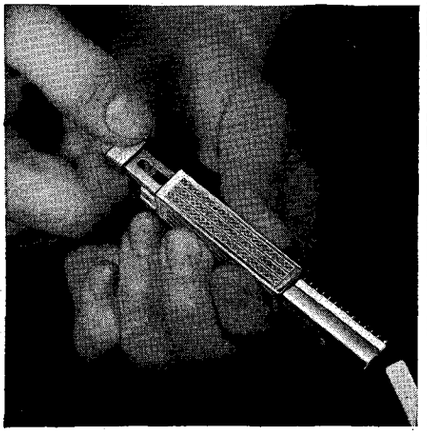

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